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**THE PUNJAB IN NINETEENTH CENTURY TRACTS:  
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PAMPHLET COLLECTIONS  
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND INDIA OFFICE**

by  
**N. Gerald Barrier**

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THE PUNJAB IN NINETEENTH CENTURY TRACTS: AN INTRODUCTION TO  
THE PAMPHLET COLLECTIONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND INDIA OFFICE

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1969





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## PREFACE

Increasing interest in South Asian studies has generated recent breakthroughs in research guides and bibliographic aids. For example, Margaret H. Case's thorough examination of periodicals, dissertations, and newspapers and a detailed Punjab bibliography by Professor Ganda Singh of Patiala have appeared during the last two years.\* Our knowledge of English and vernacular works published by Indians nevertheless remains incomplete. Such paucity of data on indigenous sources has hampered research on internal developments within India and perpetuated reliance on British records. This study attempts to fill part of the gap by supplying bibliographic information on one unexplored area of research material: vernacular and English language tracts on nineteenth-century Punjab. Despite its focus on Punjab history and literature, the guide's value is not restricted to a small group of regional specialists. The volume and content of pamphlets examined should stimulate fresh study of similar collections on other provinces and lead to an appreciation of the potential value of tracts for reinterpreting South Asian history.

Many individuals and institutions have contributed materially to the guide. During the four years I was gathering data on the pamphlet collections in the British Museum and India Office Library, a constant stream of librarians and staff members gave assistance and put up with often foolish questions. I am unable to thank them all by name, but I deeply appreciate their help and advice. At critical points when I was about to give up the project, members of the Research Committee on the Punjab provided encouragement. Professor Eric Gustafson (University of California, Davis) edited the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions. Research and revision of the guide was made possible by grants from the University of Missouri, Northern Illinois University, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the American Institute of Indian Studies. Mr. J. H. Eisenegger and Mr. Peter Stocks (British Museum) and Miss E. M. Dimes (India Office Library) were especially instrumental in completion of the study. Finally, I would like to thank Kenneth Tucker, Walter Sewart, and Ronald and Barbara Slater for assistance in preparation of the manuscript. The project has benefited from a continuing discussion with many associates, but the selection of tracts and evaluation of their contents is my responsibility alone.

N. Gerald Barrier

August, 1968

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\*Margaret H. Case, South Asian History, 1750-1950, A Guide to Periodicals, Dissertations, and Newspapers (Princeton, 1968); Ganda Singh, A Bibliography of the Punjab (Patiala, 1966).



## INTRODUCTION

Government records and tracts by Indian authors are among the most important sources for an evaluation of nineteenth-century Punjab. Students have been using Sikh and British proceedings for several years, but Punjabi vernacular and English-language material remains untapped. The factors perpetuating this situation are gradually being removed. First, the time-honored approach to modern Indian history has been emphasis on the British and administrative problems. Although the ready accessibility of British sources tends to reinforce this traditional orientation, new trends have appeared recently. Study of Indian society, customs, and political activity has led scholars to step outside the archives into the difficult but rewarding area of indigenous documents. Emphasis on language training during the last decade has stimulated these historiographic trends and at the same time provided scholars with the requisite skills for pursuing new approaches and problems. Despite being behind their Indian and Pakistani colleagues in the ability to read vernacular sources, American area specialists have begun to use Indian languages in research. Accompanying these developments is a new awareness of the available materials produced by Indian scholars and politicians. It has often been assumed that many old pamphlets and newspapers were dispersed or destroyed but now caches are being discovered in bookstores, private libraries, and the archives of such organizations as the Arya Samaj and the Muslim Anjumans.

This study surveys the history, organization, and scope of two large tract collections of English, Hindi, Punjabi, and Urdu pamphlets in the India Office Library and the British Museum. The first part consists of background on the collections and a discussion of the potential value of tracts for research. Three pamphlets illustrating points in the essay are appended. The remaining two parts are annotated lists of vernacular and English tracts. Although the lists do not contain all the material in the two libraries, the selections represent many of the central discussions and problems relating to Punjab history.

### Background of the Collections

An understanding of the historical development of the pamphlet collections in the India Office Library and the British Museum is important because that development influenced the character and variety of each institution's holdings. The following section traces the evolving acquisition systems, with particular reference to Punjab tracts and banned publications.

Prior to the 1867 Indian Press Regulation Act (XXV), the India Office Library and the British Museum did not acquire Indian publications methodically. Librarians scanned newspapers and lists of tracts for titles and then purchased from Indian agents whatever seemed valuable. The early collections therefore reflect the interest of individual librarians and the availability of ordered books.<sup>1</sup> Neither library received

substantial assistance from the Government of India. The British Copyright Act of 1845 (5 and 6 Vict. C.45) named the British Museum a depository for copies of books published in England and the "colonies," but Indian officials were not requested to supply the Museum with either English-language or vernacular material.<sup>2</sup> The Government of India occasionally sent books to the India Office, but service was erratic. The Calcutta secretariat had no system for acquiring books because copyright and registration acts did not require printers to send copies to the government. The 1845 Copyright Act remained a dead letter, and the Suppression of the Press Act of 1857 was only a temporary measure establishing guidelines for surveillance of Indian publications.<sup>3</sup>

The passage of "An Act for the Regulation of Printing Presses and Newspapers, for the Preservation of Copies of Books Printed in British India, and for the Registration of Such Books" (XXV of 1867) helped establish a comprehensive system of acquisition for the India Office Library. The Act required publishers to supply the British with at least three copies of every item printed in India. Provincial governments were to pay for the books, examine their contents, keep two copies, and send the third, if requested, to the India Office Library.<sup>4</sup> With the exception of lost or misdirected shipments, from 1868 onward the India Office Library received a copy of any current book ordered from India. Acquisition procedure was relatively simple. The Indian government, in conjunction with the provincial authorities, prepared quarterly lists of publications containing information on each book (title, translation of title if vernacular, language, author, subject, pages, number of copies, publisher, and printer). These catalogues were sent to the India Office librarians who marked desirable items and returned the catalogues to India. The Indian Home Department then collected the volumes and shipped them to London in large packets.<sup>5</sup>

Although there is no information on arrangements concerning Punjab books prior to 1867, the India Office and the British Museum apparently had agents in Lahore and Delhi who purchased English, Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi books on literature, society, and religion. After 1868 the Punjab government cooperated in preparing publication lists and supplied the India Office Library with requested items.<sup>6</sup>

The India Office was handling its acquisition problems so successfully by 1877 that the British Museum asked Indian officials for help in securing books. The Indian government denied a British Museum request for free books under the 1845 Copyright Act, but it did agree to serve as agent and collect items selected and paid for by Museum librarians. Between 1878 and 1883 the India Office Library gave the British Museum quarterly lists of publications and helped to purchase the marked volumes. The result was chaos and increasing tension between the two libraries. Accounting problems and the "very voluminous, and sometimes intricate, correspondence" with the Museum finally led the India Office to terminate supplying books in December of 1883.<sup>7</sup> The Museum then tried to hire permanent agents in India. Thacker Spinck and Company of Calcutta became the primary agent for all provinces except Bombay and the North-Western Provinces. Within three years, the failure of the new arrangements generated a fresh attempt by the British Museum to secure aid from Indian officials. Museum trustees argued that the extension of the Copyright Act to India in 1845 meant that the government must help collect items for the principal British depository. They suggested that provincial



authorities name an official to correspond with the British Museum and handle local negotiations. The Museum in turn would pay for some of the books and all freight charges. Following a delegation from the British Museum to Calcutta and further discussion, the home and Indian governments gave way to the demands and requested each province to name individuals or departments as contacts for the British Museum. In the Punjab, for example, the Director of Public Instruction and his secretariat received marked catalogues, gathered books, and sent them directly to the British Museum.<sup>8</sup>

The system had barely been functioning a year when the Press Regulation Act of 1867 was amended. The new legislation (Act X of 1890) required printers to present the government with one free copy of each book, and two additional copies if requested within a year of publication. The extra books were to be sent free to the India Office Library and the British Museum.<sup>9</sup> The 1890 Act regularized acquisitions for both depositories. Each marked catalogues and mailed them to designated representatives within the provincial governments. The agents (for the Punjab, the Registrar of the Education Department) forwarded all books to the India Office, where Museum officials picked up the free copies. Punjabi tracts were apparently transferred with minimal confusion, and only infrequently did arrangements break down between the Punjab Education Department and London libraries.<sup>10</sup>

The India Office Library and the British Museum therefore assembled thousands of books and leaflets published in the Punjab. Two important sets of publications, however, were never collected through normal channels. First, selection and purchase of volumes printed in princely states of the Punjab were generally left to the discretion of the Punjab secretariat and Punjab Foreign Department. The Indian Registration Acts did not apply to such publications. The Government of India attempted to systematize the selection process in 1890 by asking the local governments to prepare rough handlists of publications in princely states, but despite initial cooperation, the practice had lapsed by 1895.<sup>11</sup> Books from Punjab states continued to arrive sporadically. In 1902, for example, A. H. Diack, Secretary to the Punjab Government, supplied the British Museum with a copy of Basant Sat Saiya, a book of poetry from Nabha.<sup>12</sup>

Although many tracts in the second set of publications, proscribed books, pertain chiefly to the twentieth century, the banned materials should be mentioned because of their potential value as a major source for interpreting Punjab history. The Indian government began widespread proscription of controversial pamphlets after the 1907 disturbances in Bengal and the Punjab. These banned volumes on religion, politics, and history were not mentioned in the quarterly catalogues, and until 1914 none were sent to England except as evidence in political and C.I.D. files. In April of 1914 the issue of proscribed tracts was raised when the Bombay government inquired whether the British Museum and India Office Library were to receive copies of books banned under the Press Act of 1910. The Government of India debated the matter and decided finally that controversial publications should not be sent to England. The Judicial and Public Committee of the India Council disagreed, however, and requested the opinion of British Museum authorities. The British Museum insisted on its right to possess a copy of all publications, not just those judged historical or of value by the Indian government:

The question whether a work has an interest of some kind or other being one that can be decided only by posterity (although one may make reasonably confident auguries) the principle of making collections as complete as possible is one which most commends itself to Libraries.<sup>13</sup>

At the same time the Museum took account of the government's fears and offered to lock away banned works until the addition to the public collection "may be unobjectionable."<sup>14</sup> The Librarian of the India Office supported the British Museum's position. The Secretary of State for India then urged the Indian government to preserve copies of banned material because of its literary and "real psychological (or perhaps pathological) interests."<sup>15</sup> The Governor General and his Council reassessed the issue, decided that transmission of proscribed books would be troublesome but not dangerous, and sent out new instructions to provincial governments. In the future, two copies were to be shipped separately to the India Office, while the initial packets should include as many previously outlawed publications as possible. For approximately a decade the India Office Library and the British Museum received the special consignments and locked them in cupboards, but by 1929 all governments except the United Provinces had stopped supplying books. The overworked staff in the India Office Library preferred to abolish acquisition of controversial volumes, but when British Museum officials again stood firm, the Government of India ordered a resumption of shipments. Earlier publications also were to be supplied if available.<sup>16</sup> The operation of the system cannot be traced after 1938 because the Register and Record Department proceedings of the India Office are closed, but British Museum letter books indicate that proscribed volumes were shipped to England on a somewhat regular basis until 1947.

#### Organization of the Tracts

There are approximately 20,000 Urdu, 23,000 Hindi, and 6,000 Punjabi tracts in the India Office Library collection. Although exact statistics are not available, rough calculations based on printed indices suggest that 2,000 Urdu, 800 Hindi, and 900 Punjabi tracts relate to nineteenth-century Punjab.<sup>17</sup> Tracts are arranged by language, size, and subject. For example, Urdu tracts are divided into several series: Hindustani tracts (most of the pre-1900 material), Urdu B tracts (later additions, 8" tall and under), Urdu D tracts (8-10"), Urdu F and G tracts (foolscap and irregular size). Individual tracts acquired prior to 1920 were bound together in volumes, those after 1920 were either unbound or bound separately.<sup>18</sup> A noted philologist and former member of the Bengal Uncovenanted Civil Service, J. F. Blumhardt, published two valuable guides to the nineteenth-century tracts in India Office Library, Hindustani Books (London, 1900; 379 pp.) and Hindi, Panjabi, Pushtu, and Sindhi Books (London, 1902; 151, 54, 13, 14 pp.). The catalogues present the romanized title of each book and its approximate English translation, author, number of pages, place of publication, and date. Extensive indices to works and authors increase the utility of the catalogues. The sole guides to post-1900 tracts are card catalogues divided by period (Urdu: 1900-1945, 1945-1960, 1960--; Punjabi: 1902-1950, 1950--; Hindi: 1902-1944, 1945-1956, 1957--). Catalogues are arranged by author and title. Mr. C. J. Napier is preparing an inclusive printed guide to the pre-1960 Hindi collection, while proofs of a similar guide to Punjabi holdings prepared by the late Dr. Ganesh Gaur are being revised for publication in 1969 or 1970.<sup>19</sup> One



speedy method for checking whether the India Office Library has a particular volume is to examine the set of quarterly lists on Punjab publications. In addition to sending a list back to India, the librarians kept a marked duplicate. If the book in question has been checked off, it is likely to be in the collection.<sup>20</sup> Librarians in charge of the Punjab vernacular materials are Miss J. R. Watson (Persian, Urdu), Miss E. M. Dimes (Punjabi), and Miss U. Pathak (Hindi).

The British Museum holdings include 14,000 Urdu, 10,600 Hindi, and 1,650 Punjabi tracts, of which approximately 1,200 Urdu, 350 Hindi, and 300 Punjabi items relate to nineteenth-century Panjab. Tracts are arranged by language and subject and bound into volumes scattered through the Oriental Books section of the stacks.<sup>21</sup> The cataloguer of the India Office vernacular materials, J. F. Blumhardt, also prepared the guides to the early collections of vernacular books in the British Museum, Catalogue of Hindustani Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum (London, 1889; 458 pp.) and Catalogues of the Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, and Pushtu Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum (London, 1893; 278, 63, 23, 54 pp.). The British Museum has published periodic supplements to the original guides: J. F. Blumhardt, A Supplementary Catalogue of Hindi Books in the Library of the British Museum Acquired during the Years 1893-1912 (London, 1913; 470 pp.); J. F. Blumhardt, L. D. Barnett, and J. V. S. Wilkenson, A Second Supplementary Catalogue of Printed Books in Hindi, Biharti (Including Bhojpuria, Kaurmali, and Maithili) and Paharti (Including Nepali or Khaskura, Jaunsari, Mandeali, &c.) in the Library of the British Museum (London, 1957; 1678 pp.); L. D. Barnett, Punjabi Printed Books in the British Museum; A Supplementary Catalogue (London, 1961; 121 pp.). The Student's Room of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts contains card catalogues on works not in the printed guides. These catalogues are divided by language, with both author and title cards. A separate subject catalogue can be consulted in the Assistant Keeper's Room. Although the British Museum is constantly revising and preparing guides, new printed catalogues for Urdu, Hindi, and Punjabi are not planned for the near future.<sup>22</sup> Information on the collection is obtainable from Mr. J. H. Eisenegger, Officer-in-Charge, Student's Room, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum.

Proscribed pamphlets in the British Museum and India Office Library are just beginning to be made available to scholars. The India Office initially locked its collection in cupboards and transferred the tracts to boxes and crates after 1947. The collection will be organized and catalogued following completion of the India Office Library's move to new facilities on Blackfriars Road.<sup>23</sup> The British Museum set aside its confidential collection until 1967, but although the books remain loose in bundles or boxes, they are now open to the public.<sup>24</sup> A major guide to the proscribed books in the two libraries is correspondence between London and India. The India Office proceedings (Judicial and Public, Register and Record) refer to controversial material transferred from India, as do the files of provincial correspondence in the archives of the British Museum. This correspondence also contains descriptions of pamphlets, background of authors, and brief translations of "seditious" sections.

Punjab tracts in English are often more difficult to locate than their vernacular counterparts. India Office librarians bound many of the pre-1900 pamphlets into approximately 1200 large volumes. An assortment of printed handlists and accession lists are the primary guides to the

content of the volumes. Most of the twentieth-century material and occasional old publications are distributed throughout the general printed book sections. The only indices to these later pamphlets are quinquennial accession lists, large green scrapbooks in which titles and locations have been pasted, and partial card catalogues. Infrequent references to pre-1900 tracts can be found in the catalogue of the India Office's European printed books. The only existing guide to Punjab English-language tracts in the British Museum is the set of indices to the general European printed book collection. These pamphlets also are not shelved together.

### Survey of Important Vernacular Tracts

The size and organization of the collections make a detailed evaluation of their contents extremely difficult. Analysis of the tracts' value for research would be equally pretentious because use of sources depends on the interests and questions of individual scholars. Despite these limitations, an introductory statement on the tracts is needed to highlight the types of information available in hitherto unexploited source materials. The following survey discusses a selection of vernacular works which the author considers significant. This bibliographic essay should stimulate additional research in Hindi, Urdu, and Punjabi sources and serve as a guide to over 200 pamphlets. A separate annotated list of these vernacular items and approximately 100 English tracts is found in the final sections of the study.

Information on pamphlets was gathered from printed guides, card catalogues, and the quarterly lists of books published in the Punjab (1868-1900). Full bibliographic data on each item (author and title, place of publication, BM or IOL references, and number of pages) can be found in the annotated list. Transliterations and approximate English versions of titles are based on the system of romanization and translation in the British catalogues, except that diacritical marks have been omitted. Only a few tracts were examined in detail or translated.

Discussion of tracts by Punjabi authors is organized around several themes or processes important during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although we know little about Punjab society in the Sikh or early British periods, recent autobiographies and research suggest that the socio-political systems in the western, central, and eastern districts were composed of different groups and communities changing at varying rates. Cleavages ran along lines of religion, class, and caste.<sup>25</sup> New ideas, institutions, and challenges accompanying the British affected that change and gave it new directions. Vernacular pamphlets (biographies, autobiographies, histories of localities and castes, comments on social structure and reform) provide information on the nature of Punjab society and how it was changing. The literature on the Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh communities also affords insight into internal and external developments of Punjab religious groups. Those developments reflect similar elements and problems: identity formation, reform and revivalism, incorporation or rejection of western institutions, strengthening or redefining of old relationships with other Punjabis. Finally, tracts are valuable sources on the politicization of the Punjab. In addition to new political activities within caste and religious groups, two dominant patterns began to appear which remain significant until the present: political identification and organization by class with little regard for religious differences (participation in local, provincial, or nominally "secular" organizations



such as the Congress) and communal politics (either sporadic conflict over immediate issues or sustained confrontation between organizations and movements). The tract literature throws light on the factors, personalities, and institutions involved in a formative period of the Punjab political system.

### Histories and Biographical Studies

The introduction of the printing press and western interest in history helped foster the development of a historical literature in nineteenth-century Punjab. Although a few of the resulting books on Punjab history were published in English, most accounts tend to be in Urdu, Hindi, or Punjabi.<sup>26</sup> Histories of towns, districts, and states are numerous. One example of a district study is Murad Ali's commentary on Hazara (Tarikh-i-Tanawaliyan. Lahore, 1878).<sup>27</sup> Princely states also received attention, as exemplified by Diwan Ramjas's history of Kapurthala (Tawarikh-i-Kapurthala. Lahore, 1897) and Muhammad Hasan Khan's history of Patiala (Tarikh-i-Patialah. Amritsar, 1878). Among district histories are those on Dera Ghazi Khan (Munshi Hetu Ram. Gul-i-Bahar. Lahore, 1873); Gujrat (Mirza Azam Beg. Tarikh-i-Gujarat. Lahore, 1870); and Sialkot (Abdal Samad Ghulam Muhammad. Tawarikh-i-Sialkot. Sialkot, 1887).

Punjabis also began to write caste histories or accounts of incidents affecting the history of their religious communities. Caste organizations sponsored "scientific" studies of the origin of their jati to defend particular points of view or to legitimize claims about status. For example, Sant Ram published an account of Sud history (Tawarikh-i-Kaum-i-Sudan. Hoshiarpur, 1903) and Mohan Lal wrote "A History of Aroras" (Tawarikh Jati Arora Bans. Lahore, 1896). A comparison of Khatri and Brahmans in the Punjab is Tulasi Ram's Zati Bibhag (Amritsar, 1877). Similarly, religious groups rewrote their history or published tracts on specific events in their past. One illustration of the literature, to be examined in detail in subsequent sections, is an account of how Sikh women who fell into Muslim hands were rescued by Sikh cavalry (Sundari Jide Dardanak Samachar Ar Purabhal Khalsae Di Bahadari. Amritsar, 1898).

Although the British Museum and India Office Library acquired only a small proportion of Punjab biographies, the collections include many interesting items.<sup>28</sup> The lives of religious leaders were favorite subjects. Muslim biographers wrote sketches on local theologians such as Muhammad Abdal Mansur of Delhi (Kalimat al-Haqq. Delhi, 1870) and well known individuals such as Syed Ahmad Shahid who conducted ijihad in western Punjab (Muhammad Ja'far. Tawarikh-i-Ajiba Mausam Ba Sawanih-i-Ahmadi. Delhi, 1891).<sup>29</sup> Dayanand and his Punjabi followers received similar attention from Hindu biographers. Lajpat Rai wrote an extensive volume on Dayanand (Dayanand Saraswati Aur Unka Kam. Lahore, 1898) and his own autobiography (Lajpat Rayaji Ki Atma Katha. Lahore, 1932).<sup>30</sup> Other Arya Samajists discussed by biographers include Lekh Ram (Munshi Ram. Arya Pathika Lekharam. Kangri, 1914), Guru Datta (Nihal Chand Bhandari. Uniswin Sadi Ka Sachcha Shahid. Ferozpur, 1891), and Munshi Ram (Kalyana-Marga Ka Pathika. Benares, 1924).<sup>31</sup> The life of a public figure opposing the Aryas, Satyanand Agnihotri, has also been written (Sawanih-i-'Umri. Lahore, 1889). Finally, miscellaneous autobiographies include that of a Sikh police officer (Sardar Bishan Singh. Tajribat-i-Hind. Amritsar, 1897), a hospital assistant, Chandu Lal (Sawanih-i-'Umri.

Lahore, 1906), and recollections of a Sikh student's trip to Europe (Ik Panjabi Singh Di Vilayati Sair. Amritsar, 1899).

### Social Customs and Reform

Social reform was a common feature of nineteenth-century Punjab. Individuals or societies published speeches, treatises, and fiction emphasizing social evils and calling for change. Several tracts examine general problems in Punjab society. Gurmukh Singh's lecture on the necessity for altering traditional religious and social patterns (Sudhararak. Lahore, 1888) is a gauge of the issues and problems confronting reformers in Lahore. The proceedings of the Gujranwala Reform Society contain data on reform in an earlier period (Anjuman-i-Faizan-i-'amm. Gujranwala, 1869), while Wazir Chand Khushbash's stories on "social vices" illustrate the didactic literature circulating among the educated classes (Asrar-i-aja'-i Bat. Lahore, 1894).

The condition of women in the Punjab is a frequent theme in tracts. The acceptance of Purdah by Punjabi Hindus came under attack (Gujar Mal. Parda Sistem. Jullundur, 1895), as did reluctance to educate females (Umrao Singh. Ta'lim-i-Niswan. Ambala, 1904). Muslims in turn chided their co-religionists for accepting Hindu views on widow marriage (Abdul Rahman. Randon Ki Shadi. Delhi, 1874). Hindus also were concerned over remarriage. Jivana Das, for example, published a provocative dialogue between two Hindu widows on their unhappy predicament (Do Hindu Bewah Ki Batchit. Lahore, 1891). Reformers from both religions called for alteration of marriage customs and new attitudes toward women (Muhammad Abdal Majid. Mazmun-i-Pand-i-Mashhun. 2d. ed.; Delhi, 1894; Karam Chand. Islah-i-Bewah-i-Qaum-i-Hunud. Lahore, 1895; Ram Das. Nuqsanat-i-Shadi-i-Sighr Sinni. Ludhiana, 1892).

Tracts also contain information on reform and social conflict within Hindu castes. For example, the Muhials, a sub-caste of Saraswat Brahmans traditionally employed in the army or bureaucracy, published a pamphlet on reform in Rawalpindi district (Kanshi Ram. Majmua-i-Rusumat-Shadi-o-Ghami. Rawalpindi, 1895). Other tracts on Brahmans include an account of a Kashmiri Pandit outcasted for eating and smoking with Muslims (Halat-i-Janki Nath. Amritsar, 1875) and four short stories on reform among Kashmiri sub-castes (Siva Narayan. Mukhtasar Hikayat Ka Silsilah. Lahore, 1894). Similar tracts are available on other castes, such as Rusumat-i-Shadi (Delhi, 1875), a list of marriage expenses agreed upon by Agarwala merchants in Delhi.

### Developments among Punjabi Hindus

Punjab tracts can be divided into Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh sections for purposes of analysis, but in fact the pressures and processes affecting the urban classes who formed organizations and carried out reform or revivalist programs were approximately the same. Christian missionaries and their sometime allies, the British government, threatened indigenous religions and accentuated problems of identity. This threat, when compounded by contact with western political, social, and religious values in education and new occupations, contributed to divisions within each religious community and conflict between traditional and "modern" styles



of life. Tension between communities also spread, so much so at times that cleavages within groups were bridged in response to common external threats. It is within this context of shifting values, identity crisis, and conflict that utilization of vernacular sources becomes crucial. Many of the basic processes are reflected in the tracts of the period.

Except for occasional reform or religious treatises, most of the Hindu pamphlets tend to focus on the activities of sects and organizations, notably the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. The Bengali-dominated Brahmo Samaj furnished the chief Hindu pamphleteers prior to 1877. Brahmos published Vedantist tracts and translated Bengali works into Urdu (Rala Ram. Ta'lim-ul-Iman. Lahore, 1879).<sup>33</sup> They also printed material critical of Hinduism such as Jivana Sinha's Veda Prakash (Amritsar, 1877) and Harinam Chandra Joshi's Hindu Dharma Vivardhan (Lahore, 1874), which aroused a strong response from more conservative Punjabis (e.g., Pundit Sardha Ram. Dharm Raksha. Ludhiana, 1876). Other Punjabis banded together in a Dharm Sabha to protect Hinduism from changes suggested by the Brahmo Samaj (Tajawiz-i-Kamiti-i-Dharm Sabha. Lahore, 1873). The continual disputes over religion and society and the concomitant alienation of Brahmos from the main stream of Hindu thought in the Punjab formed the backdrop for the ascendancy of the Arya Samaj after 1877.

Fortunately for historians, the Aryas were great publicists. Their tracts, which once stirred arguments and dissension, now serve as source material on almost every aspect of the Samaj's role in Punjab public life. In addition to collections of hymns, rituals, and religious essays, the organization published editions of Dayanand's "Light of Truth" (e.g., Satyarth Prakash. 5th ed. Ajmer, 1898), descriptions of Dayanand's early debates (Bakhtawar Singh. Satyadharma Vichara. Benares, 1880), and set of rules and bylaws (Arya Samajon Ke Niyama Aur Upaniyam. Moradabad, 1897; Char Upaniyam Ka Sangraha. Meerut, 1887).<sup>34</sup> Although the latter two tracts were not published in the Punjab, they do contain constitutional arrangements affecting Punjab branches of the Samaj. Another major Arya activity was reinterpretation of history and Hindu scripture, exemplified by Kishan Chandra Lal's "proof" that Buddhist Pundits actually wrote the Puranas (Puran Kisne Banae. Lahore, 1893) and Munshi Ram's defense of the approach to Vedic studies preached by Dayanand (Subli-i-Ummad. Lahore, 1898). Arya writing also throws light on the formative experiences of the movement. For example, essays on meat-eating (Bhola Nath. Ham Gosht Khaen Ya Ghans Phuna. Amritsar, 1894; Naryanan Das. Ham, Hamare Karya Aur Bakre. Amritsar, 1893; Atma Ram. Mans-Bhakshan-Nishedha. Jullundur, 1892) reflects the intense struggle going on within the Samaj for control of its institutions. A second pamphlet on Lekh Ram, "Another Blow to the Vedic Religion, But Really an Infusion of New Life into the Arya Samaj," examines the significance of his assassination in 1897 for the future of the Samaj (Vedak Dharm Ko Ek Aur Dhakka Laga, Lekin Arya Samaj Men Hai Zindagi Dal Gaya. Jullundur, 1897).<sup>35</sup>

The murder of Lekh Ram is related to another Arya activity documented in tracts, Samaj attempts to defend itself and attack religious opponents. Besides supporting social reform, education, and preaching missions, the Arya Samaj systematically produced propaganda and controversial literature. Certain themes run through Arya tracts such as attacks on Brahmins (Buta Ram. Zulm Ka Phala Hissa. Amritsar, 1894) or conservative Hindus (Mathra Das. Arya Darshan. Lahore, 1879). Occasional tracts aimed at under-

mining the Sikh religion and winning Sikhs over to Hinduism. For example, Thakar Das wrote "The Sikhs are Hindus" (Sikh Hindu Hain. Hoshiarpur, 1899), while another Arya, Radha Krishan, assailed Sikhism and the Gurus in "Receipt of Granth Phobia" (Nuskah-i-Granthi Fobia. Lahore, 1889).<sup>36</sup> Other series of pamphlets concerned the activities of colorful religious leaders. The perennial attacks by an Arya opponent, Satyanand Agnihotri, evoked a variety of responses from Aryas (e.g., Murli Dhar. Satya Asatya Prakasha. Lahore, 1891). Lekh Ram single-handedly turned out a large number of tracts. Among his targets were Ahmadis ("An Exposure of the False Teachings of the Ahmadis," Ibtal-i-Basharat-i-Ahmadiyah. Jullundur, 1897), Christians ("Reply to the Criticism by Rev. T. Williams on the Doctrine of Widow Marriage," Masala-i-Niyog Par Padri T. Williams Ke I'tizar Ka Jawab. Jullundur, 1893), Muslims in general ("A Treatise on War or the Foundation of the Muslim Religion," Risala-i-Jihad Ya'ni Din-i-Muhammadi Ki Bunyad. Lahore, 1892), Hindus (Rah-i-Nijat, Ya'ni Mukti Marg. Jullundur, 1894), and fellow Aryas ("How Can Peace Be Brought about in the Arya Samaj, and a True Account of Ram Chandra," Arya Samaj Men Shanti Phailane Ka Asli Upao Aur Ram Chander Ji Ka Sachcha Darshan. Jullundur, 1893).<sup>37</sup>

The India Office Library and British Museum have representative collections of tracts which both stimulated Arya propaganda and responded to it. The names of Satyanand Agnihotri's books indicate the ferocity with which he assaulted the Arya Samaj: "The Iron-Age Religion of Dayanand" (Dayanandi Kaliyugi Mazhab. Lahore, 1887), "The Great Pope's Samaj" (Maha-Popon Ki Samaj. Lahore, n.d.), and "The Adultery Inculcated by Dayanand's Interpretation of the Vedas" (Dayanandi Vedon Men Zinakari Ki Ta'lim. 3rd. ed.; Lahore, n.d.). Sikh tracts include Mohan Singh's "An Example of Dayanand's Religion" (Dayanandi Dharm Ka Namuna. Amritsar, 1900) and Jawahir Singh's "In Refutation of a Falsehood, Entitled Remedy to Saraswati Phobia" (Risala-i-Radd-i-Butlan al-Ma'ruf Ba Taryaq-i-Saraswati Fobia. Lahore, 1889).<sup>38</sup> Despite its subsequent role as defender of Hinduism, the Arya Samaj initially came under severe criticism from the Hindu community, as illustrated by Buddhu Ram's denunciation of Arya views on marriage (Dayanandi Shadi. Lahore, 1889) and Jagannath Das's satirical poem on the errors of Dayanand (Dayananda Mat Darpan. Amritsar, 1900).<sup>39</sup> In addition to broad attacks on Aryas by Muslim tracts such as Muhammad Khalil's "No Salvation for the Aryas" (Adam Najat-i-Arya. Ludhiana, 1893) Ghulam Ahmad and his followers at Qadian produced many controversial works charging the Aryas with activities ranging from adultery to sedition.<sup>40</sup>

The emergence of caste associations among Punjabi Hindus is a final activity discussed in the Hindu vernacular tracts. Importance of the associations varied with each caste, but they served as links between clusters of Hindus stretching across the Punjab and even outside the province. Two newspapers contain information on social and political developments among the Hindu trading castes, the Kayastha Mitra (Lahore, 1891-1893) and the Arora Vansha Samachar (Lahore, 1884-1885). Data on Punjabi participation in caste conferences is found in reports of meetings held at Delhi in 1898 (Riport Vaisya Mahasabha. Meerut, 1899) and at Agra in 1898 and 1899 (Rajput Mahasabha. Agra, 1899). "The Garden of Usefulness to Bunjahis" (Bihari Lal. Gulzar-i-Fawa'i Bawanjahian. Lahore, 1879) is a rare account of internal caste politics. The tract describes the effort of Bunjahi Khatri to keep their daughters from marrying into clans (Bhaighar, Chheghar) which claim to be superior to the Bunjahi. Other tracts on castes include a report of a meeting of the Punjab Sarin Sabha in 1889 (Karwai Jalsah-i-Baradaryan-i-Sarin



Sabha Bamakan Hoshiarpur. Lahore, 1890) and social rules operative among Khatris and Kayasthas in the Punjab (Qawaid-i-Dawat-i-Kaithon. Lahore, 1874).<sup>41</sup>

### Developments among Punjabi Muslims

A survey of vernacular publications suggests that much of the intellectual ferment in the Punjab prior to the 1880's came from the Muslim community rather than from Hindus or Sikhs. Initially, this ferment was generated in large part by internal disputes and Christian missionaries, but by the 1870's many tracts reflected growing concern with the general state of Islam and the need for reform. These recurrent themes were also represented in Muslim efforts to establish reform and cultural associations.

At least three divisions within the Muslim community stimulated theological debate and pamphleteering. First, the Sunni-Shia split in the Punjab produced controversial tracts such as Hafiz Mahmud's reply to Shia claims concerning Muharram (Izhar al-Haqq Was Sawab. Lahore, 1872) and a defense of Shia doctrines by Faiz al-Haqq (Faiz-i-'amm. Ludhiana, 1873).<sup>42</sup> The temporary resurgence of the Wahabis, or the followers of Wali Ullah, during the first decades following annexation also provoked a war of words and occasional riots. The India Office Library and the British Museum contain literally hundreds of tracts on Wahabi activities.<sup>43</sup> Another revivalist sect appeared in the Punjab in the late 1800's and accentuated internal divisions among Muslims, the Ahmadiyas led by Ghulam Ahmad. Ghulam Ahmad's claim to be the "second Christ" (Barahin Ahmadiya Hissa-i-Suwan. Lahore, 1892; Kashf al-Ghita. Lahore, 1898) and the call for Muslim unity under his leadership (Fath-i-Islam. Amritsar, 1891) stirred a fierce reaction (e.g., Muhammad 'Abd Allah. Shifa al-Nas. Delhi, 1892).

In addition to internal dissension, Muslims in the Punjab were confronted with external challenge. Although several tracts on Hindu-Muslim relations were written before the 1880's, examination of the vernacular literature in that period suggests that the main threat to Islam was considered to be Christianity. Muslims published tracts against missionaries and sent out street preachers to debate with English or Punjabi Christians. Two immediate threats to Muslims seem to have been circulation of anti-Islamic treatises by Carl G. Pfander, a German missionary who published among other things the controversial Mizan al-Haqq (reprinted Ludhiana, 1867), and the creation of propaganda agencies by Punjabi converts.<sup>44</sup> Muslim theologians were important in the contest between Islam and Christianity. For example, Delhi writers quickly challenged the tracts of Reverend Imad al-Din (Muhammad Abdal Mansur. Uqubat al-Zallin. Delhi, 1875; and his Lahn-i-Da'udi. Delhi, 1872). Interesting accounts of religious debates between Muslims and Imad al-Din are in Ahmad Hasan's Nusrat-i-Ahmadiyah (Delhi, 1873) and Ilahi Bakhsh's Dini Mubahasah (Lahore, 1874).

Tracts on reform and revival of Islam began to appear from the 1870's onward. Punjabi Muslims explored various avenues for adapting their religious and social ideas to a new environment beset by western ideas, Christian proselytization, and Hindu revival. Syed Ahmad Khan was among the first to point out the dangers of not meeting new challenges, and his warnings soon found echo among Muslim intellectuals. For

example, as early as 1877 Delhi Muslims held a public meeting to discuss religion and its application to daily problems (Anjuman-i-Rashidin-i-Ahl-i-Islam. Delhi, 1877), while two decades later Muhammad Shibli Nu'mani published poems and essays on the condition of Islam (Subh-i-Ummed Aur Musaddas-i-Qaumi. Lahore, 1892). Solutions to Muslim backwardness in education and employment ranged from suggestions on eliminating polytheism and establishing schools (Khurram Ali. Nasihab-al-Muslimin. Delhi, 1874; Siraj al-Din Ahmad. Ta'lim. Rawalpindi, 1897) to calls for broad reform and revitalization (Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din. Urdu Likchar. Lahore, 1894; Maulvi Muhammad Ismail. Taqwiyat-al-Iman. Delhi, 1875). Other writers felt that Islam should reject innovation. These often published tracts on "the decay of morals" or on the dangers of Syed Ahmad Khan's syncretic ideas (e.g., Muharram Ali Chisti. Izhar-i-Haqq. Lahore, 1893). Debate on the nature of Islam and Islamic tradition also strengthened interest in Pan-Islam, and by the 1890's comparison of Indian Muslims with co-religionists in the Middle East and concern over the Sultanate had become themes in Muslim literature.<sup>45</sup>

The sense of urgency which produced the reform tracts also led to the creation of Muslim cultural and reform organizations.<sup>46</sup> Two journals in the British Museum contain background on the issues and organizational structures of the new movements. The first, Isha'at al-Sunnat (1890-1904. Urdu. Approx. 2500. BM 14104.eee.1) is a Lahore journal on religion and society edited by Abu Sa'id Muhammad Husain; the second, the journal of the Lahore Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (1890) runs only one year but includes membership lists and correspondence. Other general background is in Muhammad Akram's Intikhab-i-Makhzan (Lahore, 1906), a selection of articles from a Muslim magazine edited by an influential Lahore barrister, Abdul Qadir. Several societies published their rules and bylaws: the Muhammadan Reform Society (Anjuman-i-Rifah-i-Ra'aya. Delhi, 1875); the Sialkot Anjuman-i-Islamia (Dastur al-'Amal. Sialkot, 1890); and the Ahmadi society in Qadian (Anjuman-i-Ahbad. Qadian, 1890). The Ahmadiya pamphlet has an appended membership list.

#### Developments among Punjabi Sikhs

The resurgence of Sikhism culminating in the establishment of a Sikh state in India had its roots in the nineteenth century. Although the processes involved in the revival have not received detailed examination, several factors seem important. First, like the Hindus and Muslims, the Sikhs were confronted by militant Christianity and revivalist sects of other Punjab religions. As already indicated, attempts by Hindus and especially Arya Samajists to bring the dispirited Sikhs into the Hindu fold accentuated the problems of self-identification. The Punjab variety of orientalism, as represented by G. W. Leitner and the Anjuman-i-Panjab, also encouraged fresh study of Punjabi literature and Punjab antiquities (primarily Sikh). The orientalist's reinterpretations of Punjab history (e.g., R. N. Cust, Waqaya-i-Baba Nanak. Lahore, 1860) and Sikh religion aroused debate among Sikh intellectuals. Dr. Ernest Trumpp's translation and commentary on the Adi Granth in the 1870's exemplifies the catalytic role of orientalism. Judging the Granth as "incoherent and shallow in the extreme, and couched at the same time in dark and perplexing language, in order to cover these defects," Trumpp prepared an officially-sponsored edition which infuriated the Sikhs and stimulated their own research.<sup>47</sup> Finally, Sikh memory of recent prestige



and power was kept alive by the efforts of Ranjit Singh's son, Dhuleep Singh, to regain his lost throne (Qazi-i-Aziz Ud-Din Ahmad. Lahore, 1888), by British campaigns to perpetuate Sikh martial spirit so that the Sikhs would continue to be a source of recruitment, and by sporadic incidents such as the bravery of Sikh soldiers fighting on the north-west frontier (Saragarhi Da Juth. Amritsar, 1899).<sup>48</sup>

A survey of nineteenth-century tracts indicates that the ethos of reform and revival among Sikhs was nourishing ideas and institutions subsequently important in the burst of neo-Sikh activity after 1920. Publication trends reflect a new spirit within the Sikh community. The average number of tracts by Sikhs or on Sikhism during three-month periods increased from approximately 15 in the 1870's to 40 by 1900. More importantly, the content of publications changed gradually during the three decades. The earlier tendency to publish scriptural texts or standard works had given way by the 1890's to emphasis on Sikh history, religion, and contemporary problems.<sup>49</sup> Biographies of Gurus were becoming popular (Rajendra Sinha. Akhiri Paighambar. Sialkot, 1894; Sardar Gurmukh Singh. Guru Nanak-Prakash. Lahore, 1891), as were historical tracts with themes of martyrdom (Ditt Singh. Tara Singh Di Shahidi. Lahore, 1899; Shahidian. 2d. ed.; Lahore, 1911; Kartar Singh. Baba Banda Bahadur Da...Sanpurn Britant. Lahore, 1907; Thakar Singh. Sidk Jivan. Amritsar, 1908) and martial achievement (Ditt Singh. Jagat Sudhara Pushbhak. Lahore, 1899; Amar Singh. Chamakda Hira Yan Jivan Britant Sri San Sardar Hari Singh Ji Nalua. Lahore, 1904; Ditt Singh. Mirankotie Mathab Singh Di Bahaduri. Lahore, 1900; Jang Muktasar. Amritsar, 1902). Quest for historical identity was accompanied by re-evaluation of Sikh custom and ideology. Sikhs published tracts proclaiming the superiority of Sikhism (Avatar Singh. Hornan Dharman Nalon Khalsa Dharm Vich Ki Vadha Hai. Amritsar, 1895) and calls for co-religionists to give up "false teachings" (Jodh Singh. Sacha Dharmi. Lahore, 1900; Ditt Singh. Nakali Sikh Prabodh. Lahore, 1893; Atar Singh. Bhaundu Sikhian Da Ilaj Arthat Naqli Sikh Updesh. Amritsar, 1902). Definition of what constituted authentic Sikh doctrines varied with each group of theologians, but at least some Sikhs were determined to separate their religion from close association with the Arya Samaj (Ganda Singh. Khabt-i-Dayanandian. Amritsar, 1904) and Hinduism (Kahan Singh. Ham Hindu Nahin Hain. Lahore, 1899).

Fresh awareness of community and tradition in turn produced at least three new Sikh institutions--the Khalsa College, the Khalsa Tract Society, and the Singh Sabhas. The College served as a center of intellectual ferment and research on Sikhism, while the Tract Society quickly became the major publisher of controversial material on Sikh history, religion, and relations with other Punjabis.<sup>50</sup> Many of the Society's publications are available in London. Other tracts pertain to the Singh Sabha movement, such as the collections of rules for the Amritsar Singh Sabha (Nijam Arthabh Ashul Ate Upni Jam Arthabh Kuvaid Sri Guru Singh Amritsar Ji De. Amritsar, 1890) and the Khalsa Directory (Khalsa Dairektari. Amritsar, 1899), which provides names and background of Sikhs prominent in public affairs.

### Emergent Political Patterns

Natural divisions within Punjabi society and socio-religious change resulting from western contact molded in large part the political develop-

ment of the Punjab. Although tracts contain information on most aspects of that development, they are especially valuable for study of two dominant patterns which had begun to emerge by the end of the nineteenth century--political activity based on class or religious interests. In the nascent stages of Punjab politics these patterns were not exclusive or immutable. Politics reflected the fluid state of urban society as a whole--a time of experimentation and re-evaluation of values, a period of transition from old to new for individuals and groups. Political activity revolved around local issues and local personalities, with shifting alliances and little concern for intellectual consistency. Politicians could defend the interests of urban Punjabis or the Congress one day and the next support a communal position. Nevertheless, the two contradictory commitments were present and influenced behavior.

The tract literature mirrors Punjabi ambivalence toward politics. With the exception of scattered works such as Nathu Ram Nand's translation of works by Mazzini (Faraiz-i-Insan. Lahore, 1892) and Lajpat Rai's biography of Mazzini (Dunya Ke Maha Parshan Ka Silsila, #1 Mazzini. Lahore, 1896), most patriotic or nationalist tracts were written in English by a small group of politicians associated with the Lahore Indian Association.<sup>51</sup> Punjabis tended to write about events of local importance, as exemplified by Umrao Ali's farce on the Ilbert Bill agitation (Ilbert Bill. Lahore, 1893) and Syed Iqbal Ali's account of Syed Ahmad Khan's political tour in the Punjab during 1884 (Safar Namah-i-Panjab. Aligarh, 1884). Even when the Congress received attention in the press or tracts, its value was disputed. Muslims generally opposed the Congress and the local Congress branch, the Lahore Indian Association, on the grounds that the nationalist organization was pro-Hindu and seditious. The following illustrates the anti-Congress literature circulating between 1887 and 1893: Shams-ud-Din, "Mirror of the National Congress" (Lektur: Aina-i-National Kangres. Gurdaspur, 1889); "Story of the Congress" (Kangres Kahani. Gurdaspur, 1888); Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq, "A Plea to the Whole World of Islam" (Ek Musalman Ki Ultimas Qaum Ki Khidmat. Amritsar, 1894); Syed Hashim Shah Bukhari, "Muslims Should Keep Away from the National Congress" (Neshanal Kangras Se Musalmanon Ko Bachna Chahiye. Ferozepur, 1888); Muhammad Ikram Ullah, Khasta, "Stanzas by Khasta" (Musaddas-i-Khasta. Gujranwala, 1895). Hindus who had previously shown little interest in the Congress now rallied to its defense (Kunwar Sain. Jawab-i-Likchar. Sialkot, 1890; Nathu Ram Nand. Tasalsul-i-Hawadis. 2d. ed.; Amritsar, 1897; Swami Ala Ram. Kangres Pukar. Amritsar, 1893). When the Congress ceased to be an issue, its popularity again dwindled.<sup>52</sup>

Besides being a source on nationalist politics, the tracts written during the Congress agitation document the communal bitterness and rivalry lying just below the surface of everyday life. Other tracts bear on some of the sources of this latent hostility. First, each community was undergoing a process of self-examination which fostered a recasting of history and strengthened communal identity. Muslims wrote laudatory accounts of former Muslim rule (e.g., Ahmad Din. Aurangzeb. Lahore, 1894), while Hindus and Sikhs printed tracts on religious martyrs and alleged Muslim atrocities (e.g., Malik Raj Bhalla. Bir Ganj. Lahore, 1893; Bijai Singh, Shahid. Amritsar, 1900). Sikhs were particularly active in circulating tales of war with the Mughals (Bir Singh. Baran Mah. Lahore, 1874) and anti-Muslim ballads such as a popular version of Mahtab Singh's fight with Massa Rangar who had seized the Golden Temple (Amar Singh. Prasang

Aduti Bahadari Arthat Masse Rangar Di Maut. 2d. ed.; Amritsar, 1921). The multiplication of polemic literature on religious issues accompanied the spread of communal tendencies. For example, as early as 1852 Shaikh Salim published a harsh satire against Hinduism (Katha Salwi. Delhi, 1852), and a year later Maulvi Abaid Ullah wrote "Refutation of Hinduism" (Tuhfat al-Hind. Ludhiana, 1853), which was reprinted at least six times. Another example of an anti-Hindu tract by a Muslim is Maulvi Muhammad Husain's "The Sword of the Faqir on the Neck of the Mischievous and the Scimitar of the Sword-Bearer on the Head of the Drunkard" (Tegh-i-Faqir Bar Gardan-i-Sharir Wa Harba-i-Saifi-Bar Sar-i-Kaifi. Delhi, 1873). Hindu propagandists such as Lekh Ram replied with charges that Islam had spread only through forced conversion and holy war, a claim not unexpectedly drawing a heated Muslim response (Ghulam Nabi. Haqiqat-i-Asliyat-i-Jihad. Amritsar, 1893; Muhammad Qasim. Dafi al Fasad. Lahore, 1893). Two final factors irritating communal relations were news from princely states and cow protection agitation. Reports of Hindu and Muslim rulers abusing religious minorities upset their co-religionists in British Punjab and sparked publications such as Jaya Chandra Lal's "Our Parted Brethren" (Hamare Bichhre Hue Bhai. Lahore, 1898), an Arya tract defending Hindu administration in Kashmir.<sup>53</sup> Tension between communities helped produce the cow protection movement in the 1880's, but as the cow protection movement gained momentum, it became an independent force threatening religious accord. Although Dayanand gave "scientific" reasons for saving cows and called for gaurakshini sabhas (Gokarunanidhi. 3rd. ed.; Allahabad, 1886), the role of Arya Samaj branches in the cow associations is not clear. What is evident, however, is the new result of the campaign to stop the butchering and sacrifice of kine. Broad-sides, pictures, and tracts such as Kahan Singh's "Lamentations of the Cow" (Gau Bilap. Jullundur, 1897) or Swami Ala Ram's Goupma Goraksha (Lahore, 1893) generated fresh conflict. Cow protection as an issue subsided in the Punjab after 1893, but was to appear again in time of acute religious or political crisis.





## A SELECT LIST OF VERNACULAR TRACTS ON THE PUNJAB

The following list is a representative sampling of the thousands of vernacular pamphlets on the Punjab in the British Museum and India Office Library. The selected titles reflect the author's interests and his judgment as to the most relevant publications in the two collections. All tracts discussed in the preceding bibliographic essay are included; in addition, approximately fifty other tracts have been listed and annotated. Background on each tract is drawn from printed guides and quarterly lists of books published in the Punjab (India Office Library). Whenever possible, bibliographic data on author, title, place of publication, pages and location are provided. Transliterations and approximate English versions of titles are based on the system of romanization and translation in British catalogues. Diacritical marks are omitted.

Titles are alphabetically arranged by author or by the organization sponsoring the publication. The British Museum and India Office system of classifying Punjabi names (i.e., by the full name of the author given in order, rather than attempting to designate a surname) has been used in alphabetizing the authors. Bengali names and honorifics are two exceptions. Bengalis are arranged by their last name (for example, Bose or Chandra or Chatterjee). Honorifics or titles such as "Lala" and "Munshi" follow the name except when they appear to be important for identifying individuals. For example, Munshi Ram is found under "Munshi Ram," but Munshi Vishu Svarupa is found under "Vishu Svarupa, Munshi."

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1. Abaid Allah, Maulvi. Tuhfat al-Hind. Ludhiana, 1853. Urdu. 154 pp. IO Urdu 306.24.B.27.

One of the initial anti-Hindu tracts by a Muslim theologian following annexation.

2. Abdul Aziz. Basharat-i-Ahmadi. Delhi, 1893. Urdu. 120 pp. IO Urdu 648.

Attempt to prove that Hindu sacred books foretold the advent of Muhammad and his superiority.

3. Abdal Majid. I'lan-i-Dafi'-i-Hazayan. Delhi, 1877. Urdu. 8 pp. IO Urdu 753.

Objection to Wahabi teachings, typical of the anti-Wahabi literature of the period.

4. Abdal Rahman. Randon Ki Shadi. Delhi, 1874. Urdu. 28 pp. IO Urdu 595.



Plea for Muslims to abandon the Hindu practice of opposing widow remarriage.

5. Abdal Samad Ghulam Muhammad. Tawarikh-i-Sialkot. Sialkot, 1887. Urdu. 124 pp. BM 14109.b.31(3).

History of Sialkot, with emphasis on the effect of Muslim rule in the south-central Punjab.

6. Ahmad Din. Aurangzeb. Lahore, 1894. Urdu. 147 pp. IO Urdu 1176.

Defense of Aurangzeb's policies toward non-Muslim subjects.

7. Ahmad Hasan. Nusrat-i-Ahmadiyah. Delhi, 1873. Urdu. 12 pp. IO Urdu 535.

Account of religious debate between Ahmad Hasan and a Christian convert, the Reverend Imad al-Din.

8. Ahmad Khan, Syed. Likcharon Ka Majmu'ah. Lahore, 1890. Urdu. 343 pp. BM 14119.b.30(3).

Collection of Syed Ahmad Khan's lectures in Punjab and the United Provinces.

9. Ala Ram, Swami. Goupma Goraksha. Lahore, 1893. Hindi. 67 pp. IO 279.49.C.29.

Cow protection tract by the founder of a network of gaurakshini sabhas stretching across Northern India.

10. Ala Ram, Swami. Kangres Pukar. Amritsar, 1892. Hindi. 8 pp. IO Hindi 1546.

Call for Hindu support of the Congress.

11. Amar Singh. Chamakda Hira Yan Jivan Britant Sri San Sardar Hari Singh Ji Nalua. Lahore, 1904. Punjabi. 172 pp. BM 14162.eee.12.

Tale of Sikh bravery and martial achievement.

12. Amar Singh. Prasang Aduti Bahadari Arthat Masse Rangar Di Maut. 2d. ed.; Amritsar, 1921. Punjabi. 16 pp. BM 14162.gg.23.

Second edition of a tract, published originally in 1900, which contains a popular version of Mahtab Singh's fight with Masse Rangar who desecrated the Golden Temple.

13. Amritsar Dharm Sabha. Tajawiz-i-Kamiti-i-Dharm Sabha. Lahore, 1873. Urdu. 59 pp. (2 pts.). IO Urdu 599.

Proceedings of the Amritsar Dharm Sabha.

14. Anjuman-i-Ahbab. Qadian, 1890. Urdu. 16 pp. IO Urdu D 467.

Rules and membership list of an Ahmadiya society.

15. Anjuman-i-Faizan-i-'amm. Gujranwala, 1869. Urdu. 14 pp. IO Urdu 878.  
Proceedings of a reform society in Gujranwala, 1868.
16. Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. Risala. Lahore, 1890. Urdu. 64 pp. BM 14104.e.52.  
Journal of the Anjuman for 1890, with membership lists, correspondence and general essays.
17. Anjuman-i-Rashidin-i-Ahl-i-Islam. Delhi, 1877. Urdu. 20 pp. IO Urdu 761.  
Abstract of the proceedings of Muslim religious meetings in Delhi between April 1875 and February 1877.
18. Arora Vansha Samachar, Lahour. Lahore, 1884-85. Punjabi. Approx. 200 pp. BM 14162.i.11.  
Monthly Arora journal--reform, internal caste politics, and general news.
19. Arya Samajon Ke Niyama Aur Upaniyam. Moradabad, 1897. Hindi. 10 pp. BM 14156.d.7(2).  
Rules and Bylaws of Arya Samaj branches in India.
20. Arya Sangita Pushpavali. Lahore, 1899. Hindi. 370 pp. BM 14154.cc.4.  
Collection of Arya hymns and liturgy.
21. Atar Singh. Bhaundu Sikhon Da Ilaj Arthat Naqli Sikh Updesh. Amritsar, 1902. Punjabi. 100 pp. IO Punjabi 865.  
Call for Sikhs to return to the original teachings of the gurus in a response to Arya Samaj propaganda and arguments within the Sikh community as to whether Sikhs were Hindus.
22. Atma Ram, Lala. Mans-Bhakshan-Nishedha. Jullundur, 1892. Urdu. 84 pp. IO Urdu 1189.  
Treatise against flesh-eating.
23. Avatar Singh. Hornan Dharman Nalon Khalsa Dharm Vich Ki Vadha Hai. Amritsar, 1895. Punjabi. 16 pp. IO Punjabi 1572.  
"The Superiority of the Sikh Religion," a defense against Hindus, Arya Samajists, and Muslims.
24. Azam Beg, Mirza. Tarikh-i-Gujarat. Lahore, 1870. Urdu. 600 pp. IO 306.22.E.1.  
Social, economic and political history of Gujrat district.

25. Badari Datta. Manasavinoda. Lahore, 1890. Hindi. 56 pp. BM 14154.c.7(2).

Verses expounding Arya Samaj religious doctrine.

26. Banwari Lal. Pandit Lekh Ram, Arya Musafir Ka Dharam Par Sachcha Boli Din. Jullundur, 1897. Urdu. 24 pp. BM 14106.a.28(1).

"The True Sacrifice of Pandit Lekh Ram, Arya Musafir, for Religion," a eulogy.

27. Bakhtawar Singh. Satyadharma Vichara. Benares, 1880. Hindi. 38 pp. BM 14154.c.1(1).

Description of Dayananda's early debates.

28. Bhola Nath. Ham Gosht Khaen Ya Ghans Phuna. Amritsar, 1894. Urdu. 57 pp. IO Urdu 904.

"Should We Eat Meat or Grain," a product of the debate over meat-eating within the Punjab Arya Samaj.

29. Bihari Lal. Gulzar-i-Fawa'id Bawanjahiyan. Lahore, 1879. Urdu. 31 pp. IO Urdu 846.

Account of a decision by the Bunjahi clan of Khatriis not to give daughters to other clans (Bhaighar, Chheghar) which claimed to be superior to the Bunjahi.

30. Bijai Singh, Shahid. Amritsar, 1900. Punjabi. 115 pp. BM 14162. ee.3.

Tale of a Sikh martyr.

31. Bir Singh. Baran Mah. Lahore, 1874. Punjabi. 12 pp. IO Punjabi 1537.

Account of war between Govind Singh and the Mughals.

32. Bishan Singh, Sardar. Tajribat-i-Hind. Amritsar, 1897. Urdu. 260 pp. IO Urdu 1196.

Autobiography of a Sikh police officer.

33. Buddhu Ram. Dayanandi Shadi. Lahore, 1889. Urdu. 32 pp. BM 14106. a.18(1).

Criticism of Arya Samaj marriage practices, particularly niyoga. The author was also known as Ganga Vishnu.

34. Buta Ram. Zulm Ka Pahla Hissa. Amritsar, 1894. Punjabi (nastaliq script). 8 pp. IO Punjabi 1569.

Arya tract maintaining that Brahmins betrayed Guru Tegh Bahadur to Aurangzeb.

35. Chand Khushbash, Wazir. Asrar-i-Aja'-i-Bat. Lahore, 1894. Urdu. pp. not available. BM 14112.a.50.

Didactic stories on Punjab social problems.

36. Chandra, Amir. Arya Sangita Pushpavali. Lahore, 1893. Hindi. 430 pp. BM 14154.cc.18(3).

Collection of Arya Samaj devotional songs.<sup>54</sup>

37. Chandu Lal. Sawanih-i-'Umri. Lahore, 1906. Urdu. 75 pp. BM 14109.aaa.12.

Autobiography of a hospital assistant, Lahore.

38. Char Upaniyamon Ka Sangraha. Meerut, 1887. Hindi. 98 pp. BM 14156.d.7.

Draft rules drawn up for approval by the representatives of the Arya Samaj in Amritsar, Ajmer, Bombay, and the North Western Provinces.

39. Chhajju Ram. Dayanand Dashtaka. Amritsar, 1888. Hindi. 8 pp. BM 14072.b.4(2).

Attack on Dayanand and the Arya Samaj.

40. Cust, Robert N. Waqaya-i-Baba Nanak. Lahore, 1860. Urdu. 24 pp. IO Urdu 884. BM 14119.b.7(9).

Urdu translation of Cust's reinterpretation of Sikh history.

41. Dastur al-'amal. Gurdaspur, 1891. Urdu. 150 pp. BM 14119.d.37.

Rules for curtailment of marriage and funeral expenses among Rajputs.

42. Dastur al-'amal. Sialkot, 1890. Urdu. 8 pp. BM 14119.b.33(2).

Rules of the Anjuman-i-Islamiya, Sialkot.

43. Dayanand Saraswati. Aryopadesha-Ratnamala. Amritsar, 1877. Hindi. 29 pp. IO Hindi 1579.

An explanation of 100 terms embodying the teachings of the Arya Samaj.

44. Dayanand Saraswati. Gokarunanidhi. 3rd. ed.; Allahabad, 1886. Hindi. 24 pp. BM 14154.c.12.

Dayanand's "Ocean of Mercy," an appeal for cow protection. For an edited translation, see item 224.

45. Dayanand Saraswati. Satyarth Prakash (trans. into Punjabi, Lala Atma Ram). Lahore, 1889. Punjabi. 732 pp. BM 14162.aaa.1.

Translation of Dayanand's major work into Punjabi. For an English edition, see item 223.



46. Dayanand Saraswati. Satyarth Prakash. 5th ed.; Ajmer, 1898. Hindi. 647 pp. BM 14154.c.22.

Thorough statement of Dayanand's beliefs and his approach to the Hindu tradition.

47. Devi Sahai. Gita-Sar. Sialkot, 1874. Urdu. 32 pp. IO Urdu 641.

Vedantist tract reprinted in the Punjab.

48. Dinadayala. Gopukar Chalisa. Delhi, 1893. Hindi. 8 pp. BM 14158.d.41.

Verses on cow protection.

49. Ditt Singh. Dambha Vidaran. Lahore, 1902. Punjabi. 210 pp. BM 14162.aaa.4.

Critical examination of Dayanand's Satyarth Prakash.

50. Ditt Singh. Jagat Sudhara Pushbhak. Lahore, 1899. Punjabi. 141 pp. BM 14162.cc.2(2).

Account of Sikh founders, holy wars, and orthodox religious practice.

51. Ditt Singh. Jang Muktasar. Amritsar, 1902. Punjabi. 63 pp. BM 14162.ee.6(2).

Tales of Sikh martial bravery published by the Khalsa Tract Society.

52. Ditt Singh. Mirankotie Mathab Singh Di Bahaduri. Lahore, 1900. Punjabi. 27 pp. BM 14162.g.3(3).

Tales of Sikh martyrdom.

53. Ditt Singh. Nakali Sikh Prabodh. Lahore, 1893. Punjabi. 99 pp. BM 14162.b.8(2).

Exhorts Sikhs to follow the precepts of the Gurus and to give up Hindu worship ceremonies.

54. Ditt Singh. Tara Singh Di Shahidi. Lahore, 1899. Punjabi. 74 pp. BM 14162.b.4(4).

Poem on a Sikh martyr, Tara Singh.

55. Diwan Ramjas. Tawarikh-i-Kapurthala. Lahore, 1897. Urdu. Two parts: Approx. 350 pp. and approx. 900 pp. BM 14109.bb.9.

Detailed history of Kapurthala State during the pre-British and early British periods.

56. Dyal Singh, Sardar. Rahat-i-Haqiqi. Amritsar, 1875. Urdu. 24 pp. IO Urdu 694.

Lecture on religion and society by the patron of the Lahore Indian Association.

57. Faiz al-Haqq. Faiz-i-'amm. Ludhiana, 1873. Urdu. 164 pp. IO Urdu 530.

Theological tract defending Shia doctrines.

58. Ganda Singh. Khadt-i-Dayanandiyan. Amritsar, 1904. Urdu. 256 pp. BM 14106.aa.6.

A defense of Sikhism in reply to alleged charges by Dayanand and his followers.

59. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. Barahin Ahmadiya Hissa-i-Suwan. Lahore, 1880-1892. Urdu. pp. not available. BM 14104.g.9.

Arguments on the nature of Islam, Hinduism and Christianity.

60. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. Fath-i-Islam. Amritsar, 1891. Urdu. 133 pp. IO 306.26.A.15. BM 14104.e.36.

Exhortation to Muslims to acknowledge Ghulam Ahmad as a second Christ.

61. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. Gavarnmant-i-Angrezi Aur Jihad. Qadian, 1900. Urdu. 34 pp. BM 14105.f.7(9).

"Jihad and the British Government," calculated to prove that Muslims were not required to revolt against just rulers such as the British.

62. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. Istifta. Gudasapur, 1897. Urdu. 34 pp. BM 14105.f.4(6).

Ghulam Ahmad's defense against accusations that he planned the assassination of Lekh Ram in 1897.

63. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. Kadiyan Ke Arya Aur Ham. Qadian, 1907. Urdu. 62 pp. BM 14105.d.1(5).

"The Qadian Aryas and Us," an attempt to show that Arya Samajists were seditious and responsible for communal disharmony.

64. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. Kashf al-Ghita. Qadian, 1898. Urdu. 32 pp. BM 14105.F.7(5).

A short family history and account of the author's mission and teachings. See item 236 for an English edition.

65. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. Sat Bachon Aur Arya Dharma. Qadian, 1896. Urdu. Approx. 270 pp. BM 14105.f.3(1).

Two anti-Arya Samaj tracts.<sup>55</sup>

66. Ghulam Nabi. Haqiqat-i-Asliyat-i-Jihad. Amritsar, 1893. Urdu. 28 pp. IO Urdu 649.

Tract on legality of waging religious war (an attempt to disprove Hindu charges that Islam forced Muslims to revolt against all non-Muslim governments).

67. Ghulam Sadiq, Sheikh. Ek Musalman Ki Iltimas Qaum Ki Khidmat. Amritsar, 1894. Urdu. 18 pp. IO Urdu 850.

"A Plea to the Whole World of Islam," an anti-Congress tract inspired by the political philosophy of Syed Ahmad Khan.<sup>56</sup>

68. Gopi Nath. Angrezi Insaf Ka Sachcha Novel Ya'ni Muqaddama Civil Militeri Gazetta Ki Dastan. Lahore, 1895. Urdu. 220 pp. IO Urdu 1286.

"A True Romance of English Justice, or the Civil and Military Gazette Case," an account of an attempted suit against the Anglo-Indian newspaper for slander.

69. Grahana Mahatmya. Lahore, 1898. Hindi. 16 pp. BM 14156.d.15(2).

Arya Samaj tract on Hindu superstitions and beliefs about eclipses.

70. Gujar Mal (Francis). Pardah Sistem. Jullundur, 1895. Urdu. 20 pp. IO Urdu 1181.

Article claiming that Muslims tricked Hindus into acceptance of purdah.

71. Gurmukh Singh, Sardar. Sudhararak. Lahore, 1888. Punjabi. 84 pp. BM 14162.i.13(1).

Lecture on social and religious reform.

72. Gurmukh Singh, Sardar. Guru Nanak-Prakash. Lahore, 1891. Urdu. 302 pp. IO Urdu 306.25.F.2.

Biography of Guru Nanak reflecting the new interests and theological discussions prevalent within the Sikh community.

73. Hafiz Mahmud. Ishar al-Haqq Was Sawab. Lahore, 1872. Urdu. 92 pp. IO Urdu 534.

Sunni reply to a Shia pamphlet supporting Muharram and mourning for Husain.

74. Hafiz Umrdaraz. Faqr-Namah. Lahore, 1869. Urdu. 64 pp. IO Urdu 709.

Manual for Muslim preachers.

75. Halat-i-Janki Nath. Amritsar, 1875. Urdu. 38 pp. IO Urdu 694.

Account of a Kashmiri Pandit's outcasting for eating and smoking with Muslims.

76. Hashim Shah Bukhari, Syed. Neshanal Kangras Se Musalmanon Ko Bachna Cahiye. Ferozepur, 1888. Urdu. 20 pp. BM 14119.c.37.

"Muslims Should Stay Away from the Indian National Congress," an anti-Congress tract.<sup>57</sup>

77. Hetu Ram, Munshi. Gul-i-Bahar. Lahore, 1873. Urdu. 442 pp. IO 306.23.C.11.

District history of Dera Ghazi Khan.

78. Ik Panjabi Singh Di Vilayati Sair. Amritsar, 1899. Punjabi. 52 pp. IO Punjabi 1583.

Description of a Punjabi Sikh's trip to Europe.

79. Illahi Bakhsh. Dini Mubahasah. Lahore, 1874. Urdu. 56 pp. IO Urdu 592.

Account of a religious discussion at Amritsar in March 1867 between Hafiz Wali Allah and the leading Christian propagandist, Imad al-Din. Compiled, with notes, by Illahi Bakhsh, with appendices by Faqir Muhammad.

80. Imad al-Din. Ittifaqi Mubahasah. Lahore, 1867. Urdu. 71 pp. IO Urdu 694.

"Unpremeditated Discussions," an account of a Christian-Muslim debate by a prominent Punjabi Christian and pamphleteer, Reverend Imad al-Din.

81. Indar Singh. Akhiri Peshwa Ya'ni Akhiri Paighambar. Sialkot, 1894. Urdu. 54 pp. IO Urdu 850.

Attempt to convert Hindus, Christians and Muslims to Sikhism by showing that Gobind Singh was the last prophet sent to mankind.

82. Iqbal Ali, Syed. Safar Namah-i-Panjab. Aligarh, 1884. Urdu. 281 pp. IO 306.22.D.23.

Account of Syed Ahmad Khan's travels in the Punjab, 1884.<sup>58</sup>

83. Isha'at al-Sunnat. Lahore, 1890-1894. Urdu. Approx. 2500 pp. BM 14104.eee.1.

Monthly Muslim journal, edited by Abu Sa'id Muhammad Husain, on current theological and social issues.

84. Jagannath Das. Dayananda Mat Darpan. Amritsar, 1900. Punjabi. 16 pp. BM 14145.cc.6.

Satirical poem on the errors of Dayanand.

85. Jamun Das, Banwari Lal. Silsilah-i-Risalahat-i-Arya Musafir. Jullundur, 1897. Urdu. Approx. 40 pp. BM 14106.a.28(1).

Collection of tracts and information on the death of Lekh Ram, an Arya propagandist.

86. Jang Muktasar. Amritsar, 1902. Punjabi. 63 pp. BM 14162.ee.6.



Tales of Sikh battles with Muslims.

87. Jawahir Singh. Risala-i-Radd-i-Butlan al-Ma'ruf Ba Taryaq-i-Saraswati Fobia. Lahore, 1889. Urdu. 78 pp. BM 14106.a.19(1).

A reply to an Arya Samaj tract ("In Refutation of a Falsehood, Entitled Remedy to Saraswati Fobia").

88. Jaya Chandra Lal. Hamare Bichhre Hue Bhai. Lahore, 1898. Urdu. 14 pp. BM 14106.a.41.

"Our Parted Brethren," an Arya Samaj pamphlet on how Indo-Aryans were forced to accept Islam. Events in Kashmir apparently sparked the discussion of forced conversions.

89. Jivana Das. Do Hindu Bewah Ki Batchit. Lahore, 1891. Urdu. 16 pp. IO Urdu 1185.

Didactic play on the plight of Hindu widows.

90. Jodh Singh. Sacha Dharmi. Lahore, 1900. Punjabi. 64 pp. BM 14162.bb.7(1).

Call to Sikhs to follow the Guru's teaching and forsake Hindu practices.

91. Joshi, Harinam Chandra. Hindu Dharma Vivardhan. Lahore, 1874. Hindi. 56 pp. IO Hindi 1130.

Anti-Hindu tract by a Bengali Brahmo Samajist.

92. Kahan Singh. Gau Bilap. Jullundur, 1897. Urdu. 104 pp. IO Urdu 1285.

Cow protection tract.

93. Kahan Singh. Ham Hindu Nahin Hain. Lahore, 1899. Punjabi. 109 pp. BM 14154.dd.12.

Written to show that Sikhism and Hinduism were two distinct religions, "We Are Not Hindus" is representative of the tract literature produced by the "Neo-Sikh" or Tat Khalsa movement in the late nineteenth century.<sup>59</sup>

94. Kaifiyat-i-Salanah. Lahore, 1873. Urdu. 32 pp. BM 14119.c.22(6).

Annual report on an Amritsar Muslim school.

95. Kalimat al-Haqq. Delhi, 1870. Urdu. 32 pp. IO Urdu 912.

Biographical sketch of a prominent Delhi theologian, Muhammad Abdal Mansur.

96. Kalyana-Marga Ka Pathika. Benares, 1924. Hindi. 225 pp. BM 14157.k.6.

Biography of an Arya theologian and leader in the shuddhi movement, Munshi Ram (Swami Shraddhanand).

97. Kamal-ud-Din, Khawaja. Urdu Likchar. Lahore, 1894. Urdu. 32 pp. IO Urdu 744.  
  
A speech delivered to the Lahore Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam on the necessity for reviving Islam and raising it once again to a superior place among world religions.
98. Kanshi Ram. Majmua-i-Rusumat-Shadi-o-Ghami. Rawalpindi, 1895. Urdu. 8 pp. IO Urdu 1178. BM 14119.b.39(2).  
  
Account of reforms in social customs endorsed by a meeting of Muhial Brahmins at Rawalpindi, 1895.
99. Karam Chand. Islah-i-Bewah-i-Qaum-i-Hunud. Lahore, 1895. Urdu. 58 pp. IO Urdu 1194.  
  
Suggested reforms in Hindu marriage customs.
100. Kartar Singh. Baba Banda Bahadur Da...Sanpurn Britant. Lahore, 1907. Punjabi. 319 pp. BM 14162.fff.2.  
  
Detailed account of the life and martyrdom of Banda.
101. Kayastha Mitra. Lahore, 1891-1893. Urdu. Approx. 825 pp. BM 14119.c.40.  
  
Kayastha periodical containing religious, social, and political items.
102. Khalsa Dairektari. Amritsar, 1899. Punjabi. 206 pp. BM 14162.i.17(2).  
  
List of prominent members of Singh Sabhas, with information on occupation and membership in other organizations.
103. Khurram Ali. Nasihah al-Muslimin. Delhi, 1874. Urdu. 24 pp. IO Urdu 592.  
  
Attack on polytheism, reprinted from an earlier tract circulating in the Punjab in the 1860's.
104. Kishan Chandra Lal. Puran Kisne Banae. Lahore, 1893. Urdu. 6 pp. IO Urdu 850.  
  
"Who Wrote the Puranas," an Arya tract attempting to show that "Buddhist Pandits" produced the Puranic literature.
105. Kunwar Sain. Jawab-i-Likchar. Sialkot, 1890. Urdu. 16 pp. BM 14119.b.32(2).  
  
Reply to Syed Ahmad Khan's attacks on the Indian National Congress.
106. Lajpat Rai, Lala. Dayananda Saraswati Aur Unka Kam. Lahore, 1898. Urdu. 698 pp. BM 14109.a.61. IO Hindi 1576.  
  
Biography of Dayanand and a sketch of the Punjab Arya Samaj.

107. Lajpat Rai, Lala. Guru Datta Vidyarthi Ka Jivancharitra. Ferozpur, 1892. Urdu. 210 pp. IO 306.26.D.5.

Biography of an Arya theologian.

108. Lajpat Rai, Lala. Dunya Ke Maha Parshan Ka Silsila 1, Mazzini. Lahore, 1896. Urdu. 210 pp. IO Urdu B 306.

An interpretation of Mazzini's life illustrating the political ideas and programs of a prominent Punjab politician.

109. Lajpat Rayaji Ki Atma Katha. Lahore, 1932. Hindi. 223 pp. BM 14156.ggg.55.

Autobiography of Lajpat Rai.

110. Leitner, G. W. Sinin-i-Islam. Lahore, 1871. Urdu. 128 pp. IO Urdu 536.

A sketch of the history and literature of Islam by a noted Orientalist and founder of the Anjuman-i-Panjab.

111. Lekh Ram. Arya Samaj Men Shanti Phailane Ka Asli Upao Aur Ram Chander Ji Ka Sachcha Darshan. Jullundur, 1893. Urdu. 40 pp. IO Urdu 846. BM 14106.a.43.

"How Can Peace Be Brought about in the Arya Samaj and a True Account of Ram Chandra," assorted essays on internal Arya politics and the schism in 1893 between the "meat-eaters" and the vegetarian section.

112. Lekh Ram. Hujjat al-Islam. 2d. ed.; Jullundur, 1897. Urdu. 152 pp. BM 14104.ee.27(1).

Arya Samaj attack on Islam.

113. Lekh Ram. Ibtal-i-Basharat-i-Ahmadiyah. Jullundur, 1897. Urdu. 48 pp. BM 14104.ee.27(2).

"Exposures of the False Teachings of the Ahmadiyahs," an Arya Samaj tract contesting the claims of Ghulam Ahmad and his sect.

114. Lekh Ram. Kulliyat-i-Arya Musafir. Lahore, 1904. Urdu. 692 pp. BM 14104.eee.18.

Collection of essays by Lekh Ram, Arya preacher and publicist.<sup>60</sup>

115. Lekh Ram. Masala-i-Niyog Par Padri T. Williams Ke I'tizar Ka Jawab. Jullundur, 1893. Urdu. 32 pp. BM 14104.ee.32.

Anti-Christian tract entitled "Reply to the Criticism of Reverend T. Williams on the Doctrine of Widow Remarriage."

116. Lekh Ram. Nuskha-i-Khabyt-i-Ahmadiyah. Jullundur, 1889. Urdu. 362 pp. BM 14104.ee.32(2).

Detailed discussion of the Muslim faith and its relation to the Ahmadiya sect.

117. Lekh Ram. Rah-i-Nijat, Ya'ni Mukti Marg. Jullundur, 1894. Urdu. 32 pp. IO Urdu 850.

Arya Samaj formulation of the true "way to salvation."

118. Lekh Ram. Risala-i-Jihad Ya'ni Din-i-Muhammadi Ki Bunyad. Lahore, 1892. Urdu. 44 pp. IO Urdu 1169.

An Arya tract, "A Treatise on War or the Foundation of the Muslim Community," claiming that Muslims spread primarily by use of the sword. The tract was one of Lekh Ram's most controversial productions.

119. Lekh Ram. Takzib-i-Barahin-i-Ahmadiyah. Amritsar, 1890-1897. Urdu. 580 pp. BM 14104.f.52.

Refutation of a Muslim tract.<sup>61</sup>

120. Lekh Ram. Tarikh-i-Dunya. Lahore, 1895. Urdu. 64 pp. IO Urdu 1195.

"History of the World," examining European interpretations and attempting to show that the Vedas contain the true keys to understanding history.

121. Maihdi Hasan, Syed. Ain al-Yaqin. Delhi, 1873. Urdu. 24 pp. IO Urdu 592.

Survey of the religious life of a Delhi theologian and pamphleteer, Muhammad Abdal Mansur.

122. Mangal Dev, Swami. Gau Pukar Chalis. Amritsar, 1893. Hindi (nas-taliq script). 24 pp. IO Hindi 1138.

"Lamentations of the Cow," a cow-protection pamphlet first published in Delhi in 1890 and then reprinted in Amritsar.

123. Manuel, G. S. Rah Numa-i-Dilhi. Delhi, 1874. Urdu. 492 pp. IO 306.22.C.9.

Commentary on the history, society and economic life of Delhi.

124. Mathra Das, Lala. Arya Darshan. Lahore, 1879. Urdu. 12 pp. IO Urdu 865.

Reply to articles by Jamna Parshad against the Arya Samaj.

125. Mirza Hairat. Khilafat-i-USmani. Delhi, 1901. Urdu. 72 pp. IO Urdu 3109f.

Essays on the Sultans as spiritual successors of Muhammad.

126. Mirza Muwahhid. Faisala-i-'Adalat-i-High Court-i-Asmani. Delhi, 1876. 24 pp. Urdu. IO Urdu 701.

"Decision of the Heavenly High Court," an anti-Christian tract.

127. Mohan Lal, Pandit. Tawarikh Jati Arora Bans. Lahore, 1896. Punjabi. 34 pp. IO Punjabi 1524.



Account of the history and social structure of the Arora caste.

128. Mohan Singh. Dayanandi Dharm Ka Namuna. Amritsar, 1900. Punjabi. 8 pp. BM 14162.aaa.3.

Sikh attack on Dayanand and the Arya Samaj.

129. Moti Ram Singh. Astut Darbar Amritsar. Amritsar, 1874. Punjabi. 8 pp. IO Punjabi 1551.

Poem in praise of the Golden Temple, Amritsar.

130. Muhammad 'Abd Allah. Shifa al-Nas. Delhi, 1892. Urdu. 96 pp. IO Urdu 1169.

Criticism of Ghulam Ahmad and the Ahmadiya sect.

131. Muhammad Abdal Majid. Mazmun-i-Pand-i-Mashhun. 2d. ed.; Delhi, 1894. Urdu. 40 pp. IO Urdu 1166.

Address on social and religious progress among Muslims.

132. Muhammad Abdal Mansur. Lahn-i-Da'udi. Delhi, 1872. Urdu. 32 pp. IO Urdu 532.

Essays on Islam and Christianity.

133. Muhammad Abdal Mansur. Namunah-i-Tahrif. Delhi, 1879. Urdu. 12 pp. IO Urdu 784.

Muslim propagandist's attempt to show inaccuracy of the Bible.

134. Muhammad Abdal Mansur. Uqubat al-Zallin. Delhi, 1875. Urdu. 196 pp. IO Urdu 728.

Muslim reply to Christian propaganda. For background on the author, see Maihdi Hasan, Ain al-Yaqin (item 121).

135. Muhammad Akram. Intikhab-i-Makhzan. Lahore, 1906. Urdu. 296 pp. BM 14119.aa.13.

Reprints from a Muslim literary magazine edited by Abdul Qadir.

136. Muhammad Hasan Khan. Tarikh-i-Patialah. Amritsar, 1878. Urdu. 7,26,788 pp. IO 306.23.c.30.

History of Patiala State in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

137. Muhammad Husain, Maulvi. Tegh-i-Faqir Bar Gardan-i-Sharir Wa Harba-i-Saifi-Bar Sar-i-Kaifi. Delhi, 1873. Urdu. 348 pp. IO Urdu 595.

"The Sword of the Faqir on the Neck of the Mischievous, and the Scimitar of the Sword-Bearer on the Head of the Drunkard," an anti-Hindu tract judged by the British "vindictive" and "indecent."

138. Muhammad Ikram Ullah, Khasta. Musaddas-i-Khasta. Gujranwala, 1895. Urdu. 20 pp. IO Urdu 1179.

Essay complaining of condition of Muslims, requesting British aid, and exhorting Muslims to avoid the Congress.

139. Muhammad Inshaullah. Risala-i-Mafruza (Mazalim-i-Armenia Wa Dawal-i-Salasa). Amritsar, 1896. Urdu. 116 pp. IO Urdu 1166.

Support for Turkish policy toward Armenia.

140. Muhammad Inshaullah. Saltanat-i-USmaniyah Ki Maujudah Halat Aur Uski Baj Guzar Riyasaten. Amritsar, 1897. Urdu. 110 pp. IO Urdu 1285.

"The Present State of the Turkish Empire and Its Tributary States," a tract illustrating pan-Islamic sentiment in the Punjab prior to the First World War.

141. Muhammad Ismail, Maulvi. Taqwiyat-i-Iman. Delhi, 1875. Urdu. 66 + 226 pp. IO Urdu 677.

Appeal for Muslim reform.

142. Muhammad Ja'far. Tawarikh-i-Ajiba Mausam Ba Sawanih-i-Ahmadi. Delhi, 1891. Urdu. 338 pp. IO Urdu 1153. BM 14109.C.24.

Biography of Syed Ahmad of Bareilly and the Muslim interpretation of his anti-Sikh war.

143. Muhammad Khalil. Adam Najat-i-Arya. Ludhiana, 1893. Urdu. 8 pp. IO Urdu 649.

"No Salvation for the Aryas."

144. Muhammad Qasim. Dafi al-Fasad. Lahore, 1893. Urdu. 58 pp. IO Urdu 645.

"Inquiry into the Legality of Jihad," an attempt to show that Muslims are not required to revolt against the British.

145. Muhammad Shibli Nu'mani. Subh-i-Ummed Aur Musaddas-i-Qaumi. Lahore, 1892. Urdu. 20 pp. IO Urdu 1176.

Poems on the condition of Islam.

146. Muhammad Siddiq. Gulshan-i-Haqiqat. Delhi, 1879. Urdu. 196 pp. IO Urdu 784.

Discussion of Sunni-Shia controversies.

147. Muhammadan Reform Society. Anjuman-i-Rifah-i-Ra'aya. Delhi, 1875. Urdu. 16 pp. IO Urdu 761.

Bylaws of a Muslim reform society with branches in Delhi and Lahore.

148. Muharram Ali Chisti. Izhar-i-Haq Yani Syed Ahmed Khan Sahib Ke Mubahasa Par Donozamin. Lahore, 1893. Urdu. 18 pp. IO Urdu 649.  
Muslim attack on Syed Ahmad Khan and his proposed reform of Islam.
149. Muhsin al-Mulk. Lekchar Isha'at-i-Islam Par. Lahore, 1893. Urdu. 14 pp. IO Urdu 645.  
Lecture on the spread of Islam, a reply to Lekh Ram's claim that Islam converted primarily by force and terror.
150. Munshi Ram. Arya Pathika Lekharam. Kangri, 1914. Hindi. 208 pp. BM 14156.ggg.23(2).  
Life of an Arya preacher and publicist, Lekh Ram.
151. Munshi Ram. Arya Sangitamala. Jullundur, 1900. Hindi. 150 pp. B1 14154.cc.7.  
Collection of Arya Samaj devotional literature.
152. Munshi Ram. Subli-i-Ummed. Lahore, 1898. Urdu. 108 pp. BM 14106.b.32.  
Commentary of Dayanand's interpretations of the Vedas.
153. Murad Ali. Tarikh-i-Tanawaliyan. Lahore, 1878. Urdu. 83 pp. IO Urdu 754.  
History and geographical data on the North-West frontier districts.
154. Murli Dhar, Lala. Satya Asatya Prakasha. Lahore, 1891. Urdu. 54 pp. IO Urdu 1148.  
Defense of Dayanand against an attack by Satyanand Agnihotri.
155. Nand Gopal, Lala. Sada-i-Hind. Lahore, 1909. Urdu. 22 pp. IO Urdu C 2069.  
Treatment of India's economic condition, Hindu-Muslim relations, and cow protection. A translation is found in Appendix B.
156. Naryanan Das. Ham, Hamare Karya Aur Bakre. Amritsar, 1893. Urdu. 56 pp. IO Urdu 630.  
Treatise against flesh-eating.
157. Nasir Nawab, Mir. Majmua-i-Nazm. Delhi, 1890. Urdu. 140 pp. BM 14114.a.34(5).  
Collection of poems on the fallen state of Islam and the necessity for Muslim patriotism.
158. Nathu Ram Nand. Faraiz-i-Insan. Lahore, 1892. Urdu. Approx. 150 pp. IO Urdu 306.26.D.5.

Translation of Mazzini's "Duties of Man" and an appeal for national sacrifice.

159. Nathu Ram Nand. Tasalsul-i-Hawadis. Amritsar, 1897. Urdu. 114 pp. BM 14112.bbb.31.

Assessment of Indian needs and the role of the Indian National Congress in meeting those needs.

160. Nazir Husain. Lekcharon Ka Majmua. Delhi, 1893. Urdu. 190 pp. IO Urdu 1179.

Collection of lectures on the Congress and problems confronting Muslims.

161. Nihal Chand Bhandari. Uniswin Sadi Ka Sachcha Shahid. Ferozepur, 1891. Urdu. 319 pp. IO Urdu 1157.

Life of Guru Datta, the chief Arya Samaj propagandist and theologian in a formative period of the Punjab Samaj, 1883-1890.

162. Nijam Arthabh Ashul Ate Upni Jam Arthabh Kuvaid Sri Guru Singh Amritsar Ji De. Amritsar, 1890. Punjabi. 16 pp. BM 14162.a.14.

Membership list and procedural rules of the Amritsar Singh Sabha.

163. Nusrat Ali. Aman al-Iman. Delhi, 1878. Urdu. 40 pp. IO Urdu 752.

"The Shelter of Religion," a Muslim tract attacking Christians and calling for Muslims to preach to infidels.

164. Pfander, Carl G. Mizan al-Haqq. reprinted Ludhiana, 1867. Urdu. 167 pp. BM 14104.c.13.

Notorious anti-Muslim tract by a Christian missionary. The work generated theological debate and apologetics among Punjabi Muslims.

165. Punjab Sarin Sabha. Karwai Jalsah-i-Baradaryan-i-Sarin Sabha Bamakam Hoshiarpur. Lahore, 1890. Urdu. 52 pp. BM 14119.b.33(1).

Report of a meeting of the Punjab Sarin Sabha, 1889.

166. Qasi-i-Aziz Ud-Din Ahmad. Lahore, 1888. Urdu. 50 pp. BM 14162.e.6.

Pamphlet on the efforts of Dhuleep Singh, the son of Ranjit Singh, to regain his lost throne.

167. Qawaid-i-Dawat-i-Kaithon. Lahore, 1874. Urdu. 4 pp. IO Urdu 582.

Social rules among Kayasths and Khatris in the Punjab.

168. Radha Krishan. Bharat Utsav Darpan Maruf Ba Aina-i-Tehwar-i-Hunud. Delhi, 1896. Urdu. 48 pp. IO Urdu 1148.

Background on Hindu festivals in the Punjab.



169. Radha Krishan. Nuskhah-i-Granthi Fobia. Lahore, 1889. Urdu. 42 pp. BM 14106.a.19(2).  
"Receipt of Granth Phobia," an attack on the Sikhs and their religious heritage.
170. Raj Bhalla, Malik. Bir Ganj. Lahore, 1893. Urdu. 112 pp. IO Urdu 1192.  
Tale of a Sikh martyr.
171. Rajput Mahasabha. Agra, 1899. Hindi. 27 pp. BM 14156.d.19.  
Membership lists and discussion pertaining to Punjabi Rajputs in two annual reports, 1898 and 1899.
172. Rala Ram. Ta'lim-ul-Iman. Lahore, 1879. Urdu. 48 pp. IO Urdu 905.  
Instruction in Brahmo doctrines, translated from Bengali sources.
173. Ram Das. Nuqsanat-i-Shadi-i-Sighr-Sinni. Ludhiana, 1892. Urdu. 24 pp. IO Urdu 1151.  
Hindu tract on the evils of early marriage and the advantages of female education.
174. Ram Kishan Singh. Khalisah Jubili. Lahore, 1900. Urdu. 32 pp. BM 14106.bb.24.  
Review of two centuries of Sikh history and religious development.
175. Ray, Navinachandra. Acharadarsha. Lahore, 1872. Hindi. 28 pp. IO Hindi 1124.  
Brahmo religious tract.
176. Riport Vaisya Mahasabha. Meerut, 1899. Hindi. Approx. 120 pp. BM 14156.d.19(2).  
Account of the Vaisya Mahasabha meeting at Delhi in 1898, with appendices and attendance lists.
177. Rusumat-i-Shadi. Delhi, 1875. Urdu. 24 pp. IO Urdu 761.  
List of marriage expenses agreed upon by Agarwala merchants of Delhi.
178. Salig Ram Das. Nanakiya Matanir Naya. Amritsar, 1877. Hindi. 17 pp. IO Hindi 1125.  
An attempt to prove that Sikhism and the Vedic religion are identical.
179. Salig Ram. Dayanandiyon Ki Mushkilat. Lahore, 1890. Urdu. 30 pp. BM 14106.a.21(1).  
Legal decision by Judge W. A. Harris against members of the Arya Samaj.

180. Sangita Sudhakara. Lahore, 1890. Hindi. 62 pp. BM 14154.cc.18(1).  
Collection of Arya hymns and liturgy.
181. Sant Ram. Tawarikh-i-Kaum-i-Sudan. Hoshiarpur, 1903. Urdu. 44 pp. BM 14119.cc.6.  
History and customs of the Sud caste.
182. Saragarhi Da Judh. Amritsar, 1899. Punjabi. 16 pp. BM 14162.ee.6(1).  
Account of Sikh bravery in fighting for the British on the North-West frontier.
183. Sardha Ram, Pandit. Dharm Raksha. Ludhiana, 1876. Urdu. 120 pp. IO Urdu 760.  
Hindu tract in opposition to Christianity, Islam, and the Brahmo Samaj.
184. Satyanand Agnihotri. Dayanandi Kalijugi Mazhab. 2d. ed.; Lahore, 1888. Urdu. 24 pp. BM 14106.a.17(1).  
"The Iron-Age Religion of Dayanand," an anti-Arya attack by a Hindu critic and founder of the Dev Samaj.
185. Satyanand Agnihotri. Dayanandi Vedon Men Zinakari Ki Ta'lim. 3rd. ed.; Lahore, n.d. Urdu. 14 pp. BM 14106.a.18(4).  
"The Adultery Inculcated by Dayanand's Interpretation of the Vedas," commentary on Arya Samaj niyoga practices.
186. Satyanand Agnihotri. Maha-Popon Ki Samaj. Lahore, 1890. Urdu. 12 pp. BM 14106.a.17(5).  
"The Great Pope's Samaj," a controversial pamphlet on the Arya Samaj and Dayananda.
187. Satyanand Agnihotri. Swami Dayanand Aur Unka Naya Panth. Lahore, 1886. Urdu. 96 pp. BM 14106.a.17(6).  
"Dayanand and His New Sect," an attack on the Arya Samaj.
188. Sawanih-i-'Umri. Lahore, 1889. Urdu. 30 pp. BM 14106.a.17(3).  
Biography of Satyanand Agnihotri, founder of the Dev Samaj.
189. Shahidian. 2d. ed.; Lahore, 1911. Punjabi. 285 pp. BM 14162.b.44.  
Tales of Sikh martyrdom.
190. Shaikh Salim. Katha Salwi. Delhi, 1852. Urdu. 8 pp. IO Urdu 1060.  
Muslim satire on Hinduism.

191. Shams-ud-Din. Kangres Kahani. Gurdaspur, 1888. Urdu. 9 pp.  
BM 14119.a.19.

"Story of the Congress," an anti-Congress pamphlet. See Appendix A for a translation.

192. Shams-ud-Din. Lektur: Aina-i-National Kangres. Gurdaspur, 1889.  
Urdu. 19 pp. BM 14119.b.32.

"Mirror of the National Congress," an anti-Congress pamphlet by a Gurdaspur Muslim politician.<sup>62</sup>

193. Shihab al-Din. Ta'id-i-Barahin-i-Ahmadiyah Alma'ruf 'Ainak-i-Chashma-i-Arya. Jullundur, 1891. Urdu. 168 pp. (2 pts.). IO Urdu 1169.

"In Support of Barahin-i-Ahmadiyah, Called the Eye-Glass of the Aryas," a defense of Ghulam Ahmad's notorious satire on the Arya Samaj.

194. Shrivastav Navajadikakal. Lajpat Raya. Simla, 1920. Hindi. 280 pp.  
IO Hindi B 846.

Biography of Lajpat Rai.

195. Sinha, Jivana. Veda Prakash. Amritsar, 1877. Urdu. 8 pp. IO Urdu 850.

Exhortation to Hindus to follow the Vedic religion.

196. Sinha, Rajendra. Akhiri Paighambar. Sialkot, 1894. Urdu. 57 pp.  
BM 14106.bb.12.

Treatise showing that Guru Gobind Singh was the last prophet of mankind.

197. Siraj al-Din Ahmad. Ta'lim. 2d. ed.; Rawalpindi, 1897. Urdu. 145 pp.  
BM 14119.a.48(5).

Inquiry into Muslim education in India with sections on Punjabi Muslims.

198. Siva Narayan. Mukhtasar Hikayat Ka Silsilah. Lahore, 1894. Urdu.  
87 pp. BM 14112.a.46(1-4).

Four short tales on reform of Kashmiri Brahmins.

199. Sundari Jide Dardanak Samachar Ar Purabhal Khalsae Di Bahadari.  
Amritsar, 1898. Punjabi. 148 pp. BM 14162.ee.3(1).

Tale of Sikh women who fell into Muslim hands and were rescued by a band of Sikh heroes.

200. Thakar Das, Lala. Sikh Hindu Hain. Hoshiarpur, 1899. Urdu. 80 pp.  
BM 14106.b.27(4).

"Sikhs are Hindus," a historical treatment of Sikh religion by the president of the Hoshiarpur Khatri Association.

201. Thakar Singh. Sidk Jivan. Amritsar, 1908. Punjabi. 119 pp.  
BM 14162.eee.19.
- Discussion of Sikh heroes and martyrs.
202. Thakur Prasad. Samkshipta Jivan Brittanta. Dinapur, 1898. Hindi.  
45 pp. BM 14156.g.24(2).
- Short life of Lekh Ram, an Arya pamphleteer assassinated in 1897.
203. Tulasi Ram. Zati Bibhag. Amritsar, 1877. Urdu. 11 pp. IO Urdu  
846.
- Treatise on Brahmin and Kshyatria classes in Punjab.
204. Ulfat Husain. Mu'jizah-i-Furkan. Delhi, 1870. Urdu. 56 pp.  
BM 14119.e.14(4).
- Articles defending Islam from the charges of Carl G. Pfander, a  
Christian theologian.
205. Umrao Ali. Ilbert Bill. Lahore, 1893. Urdu. 84 pp. IO Urdu 855.
- Satire on the Ilbert Bill agitation.
206. Umrao Singh. Ta'lim-i-Niswan. Ambala, 1904. Urdu. 51 pp.  
BM 14119.aa.5(2).
- Discussion of female education.
207. Vedak Dharm Ko Ek Aur Dhakka Laga, Lekin Arya Samaj Men Hai Zindagi Dal  
Gaya. Jullundur, 1897. Urdu. 83 pp. BM 14106.b.32.
- Review of the life of Lekh Ram and circumstances surrounding his  
death. The title signifies the attitude of the author toward Lekh  
Ram's assassination: "Another Blow to the Vedic Religion, But  
Really an Infusion of New Life into the Arya Samaj."
208. Vishu Svarupa, Munshi. Kshatri Bal. Bombay, 1890. Urdu. 56 pp.  
BM. 14119.b.28(2).
- Essay supporting thesis that Punjab Khatri are superior in social  
status to those in Rajputana.





A SELECT LIST OF ENGLISH-LANGUAGE  
TRACTS ON THE PUNJAB

The listing of India Office Library titles is meant to be comprehensive. With a few exceptions, the tracts on nineteenth-century Punjab are located in series of bound volumes which are well indexed. On the other hand, the British Museum titles can only be considered a sampling of the English-language tracts available to students of Punjab history. An attempt was made to track down as many British Museum tracts as possible, but the diffuseness of Indian works and the lack of a compact catalogue prevented a thorough survey of the Punjab collection. Bibliographic data on author, title, place of publication, pages, and location are provided whenever available. Items marked with an asterisk can be found in the microfilm collection of the University of Missouri Library, Columbia.

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209. Anjuman-i-Panjab. Criticism of the 'National Anthem in Urdu.' Lahore, n.d. 29 pp. IO Tract 964.\*

Versions of an Indian national anthem prepared by members of the Anjuman-i-Punjab, G. W. Leitner's orientalist organization in Lahore.

210. Anjuman-i-Panjab. Proceedings of the Anjuman-i-Panjab in Connection with the Establishment of Village Panchaits. Lahore, 1880. 113 pp. IO Tract 505.\*

Essays and evidence of witnesses on the establishment, function and limitations of panchayats as a means of justice in the Punjab.

211. Anjuman-i-Panjab. Report of the Unjuman-i-Panjab. Lahore, 1866. 56 pp. BM 8356.dd.14.

Report on Leitner's orientalist organization which sponsored literary programs and was influential in the formation of Panjab University.

212. Baness, Theodore. An Essay on Cow Protection. Amritsar, 1893. 5 pp. IO Tract 790.\*

European essay on uses of the cow and the necessity for ending cow slaughter.

213. Bary, R. C. Prayer Book of the Aryans. Lahore, n.d. IO Tract 643.\*

Vedic Mantras and prayers arranged by Dayanand Saraswati; introductory essays containing information on the purification of mind and enlightenment of the soul, acquaintance with science and the "seven mystic words of purity."

214. Bose, Jogendra Chandra. The Maharaja of Cashmere. Calcutta, 1893. 172 pp. IO Tract 1015.
- Defense of Hindu administration in Kashmir. Information on the deposition of Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1889, Hindu-Muslim relations in Kashmir, and controversies over misrule.
215. Chandra, Babu Bipin. The National Congress. Lahore, 1887. 28 pp. IO Tract 666.\*
- Paper on the aims of the Congress presented to a meeting of the Lahore Indian Association by a Bengali lecturer.
216. Chatterjee, K. P. A Note on the Administration of Justice in the Punjab. Lahore, 1890. 70 pp. BM 05319.f.17(2).
- Description of Punjab legal system and a critique of British justice. Some notes are included on the evolving legal profession.
217. Chhajju Singh, Bawa. Brahmacharya Vrs. Child Marriage. Lahore, n.d. 27 pp. IO 803.\*
- Arya Samaj criticism of child marriage based on two arguments, Vedic injunctions and the "physical degeneracy" supposedly resulting from premature offspring.
218. Chhajju Singh, Bawa. A Few Specialties of the Arya Samaj. Lahore, 1904. 36 pp. IO Tract 984.\*
- History of the Arya Samaj including information on Arya attitudes toward other reform organizations, the Vedas, Muslims, Brahmanism, Christianity and the missionaries, nature of true religion.
219. Clark, Henry Martin. Principles and Teachings of the Arya Samaj, Lecture IV, "The Knowledge of God." Lahore, 1887. 18 pp. IO Tract 712.\*
- Missionary's critical review of Arya claims concerning the Vedas.
220. Clark, Henry Martin. Principles and Teachings of the Arya Samaj, Lecture IV, "The Vedic Doctrine of Sacrifice." Lahore, 1888. 75 pp. IO Tract 719.\*
- Discussion of Arya views on the Brahmo Samaj, Vedas, sacrifices, and infanticide.
221. Controversy between the Arya Samaj of Wazirabad and Pandit Ganesh Datta, Shastri, on the Shradha Ceremony, with the Opinion of F. Max-Mueller. Lahore, 1896. 27 pp. BM 14154.c.7(3).\*
- Famous shastrarth or theological debate over Arya ceremonies and the nature of Vedic religion. Some of the text is in Hindi.
222. Davison's Punjab Directory, 1902. Lahore, 1902. 214 pp. BM PP 2569.a.c.

Although the complete run of the directory is not available, this isolated number contains rich background on prominent Punjabis.

223. Dayanand Saraswati. Light of Truth, or an English Translation of Satyarth Parkash (ed. by Chiranjiva Bharadwaja). Lahore, 1906. ix, 837 pp. BM 14154.c.29.

English translation of Satyarth Prakash, item 46.

224. Dayanand Saraswati. The Ocean of Mercy. Lahore, 1889. 68 pp. BM 14154.c.15.

Durga Prasad's English edition of Gokarunanidhi, item 44.

225. Dev Dharm. India's National Degredation: Its Causes and the True Remedy. Lahore, n.d. 16 pp. BM 4505.de.3.(3).

A call for Hindus to return to their "true faith" (that of the Dev Dharm) so that India might reattain her once high position among the nations of the world.

226. Durga Prasad. The Doctrine of Re-Incarnations. Lahore, 1891. 17 pp. IO Tract 782.\*

Philosophic and scientific defense of incarnations, including discussion of eternity and the soul, moral law, causality, divine justice, unequal distribution of happiness, and idea of single birth.

227. Durga Prasad. Maharshi Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Lahore, 1892. 21 pp. IO Tract 783.\*

Comments on history of the Arya Samaj and Dayanand's philosophy.

228. Durga Prasad. Manu and Vegetarianism. Lahore, 1891. 41 pp. IO Tract 815.\*

Arya tract rejecting Manu's vegetarian code.

229. Durga Prasad. Reason and Instinct. Lahore, 1889. 48 pp. IO Tract 712.\*

Attempt to synthesize science and religion by a leader of the Lahore Arya Samaj.

230. Dwarka Das. Hindi Versus Urdu. Lahore, 1882. 13 pp. IO Tract 640.\*

Pro-Hindi tract containing a strong attack against proponents of Urdu as the official vernacular in Punjab.

231. Dwarka Das. A Problem or a Few Stray Thoughts about the Indifference of Our Young Men. Lahore, 1903. 72 pp. IO Tract 947.\*

Arya criticism of English schools and an appeal for Hindu education synthesizing ideas and practices from both East and West.



232. Dyal Singh. Nationalism. Lahore, 1898. 11 pp. IO Tract 769.\*

Leading Punjab politician's analysis of the problems and potential of the Congress.

233. Fragments of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's Criticism on Monier William's 'Indian Wisdom.' Lahore, 1892. 28 pp. IO Tract 783.\*

Arya lectures on interpretation of Hindu scriptures by western scholars.

234. Ganeshi Lal. The Arya Samaj or "The New Light of Asia." Lahore, 1889. 70 pp. IO Tract 738.\*

Defines the origin, principles and objects of the Arya Samaj; appended rules and Arya poems.

235. Ghose, J. N. My Life Thoughts. Lahore, 1889. 15 pp. IO Tract 724.\*

Reflections on life by a retired government employee.<sup>63</sup>

236. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. Kashf al-Ghita. Lahore, 1898. 43 pp. BM 14105.e.1(4).

A history of the Ahmadiya sect and an attack on Hindu and Muslim opponents. For a slightly different Urdu version, see item 64.

237. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza. My Attitude Toward the British Government, or the Refutation of an Incorrect Statement. Lahore, 1895. 8 pp. BM 14105.e.1(1).

Ghulam Ahmad's defense against the charge that he and the Ahmadiya sect supported jihad and violent overthrow of the British government.

238. Ghulam Nabi, Hakim. Plague Innoculation from the Muhammadan Point of View. Lahore, 1903. 16 pp. IO Tract 976.\*

Poem on plague and details of the inoculation accident at Malkowal where several villagers died of tetanus because of contaminated vaccine. The author also prints varied opinions on vaccination and discusses the effect of quarantine upon the Muslim religion.

239. Griswold, H. D. The Chet Rami Sect. Cawnpore, 1904. 26 pp. IO Tract 967.\*

Missionary interpretation of the origin and program of a Punjab revivalist sect.

240. Guru Datta. Evidences of the Human Spirit. Lahore, 1893. 40 pp. IO Tract 783.\*

Comments on the spirit in religion, relationship of the physical world to metaphysics, Christian theory, and objective inferences regarding Atma. The author was a major intellectual leader of the Punjab Arya Samaj.<sup>64</sup>

241. Gupta, Nagendranath. The Indian National Congress. Lahore, 1893. 6 pp. IO Tract 790.\*  
Opinions on the Congress and reform movements in general; examination of Congress inactivity in the Punjab.
242. Har Kishen Singh. A Short Life of the Hon'ble Birbar Raja Sir Sahib Dyal of Koshen Kote. Lahore, 1892. 26 pp. IO Tract 805.\*  
History of service under the Sikhs and British and information on the family fortune.
243. Hassan Ali, Maulvi. Nimaz, A Religious Tract. Lahore, 1888. 14 pp. IO Tract 738.\*  
Study of religious instruction and Muslim worship.
244. Indian National Songs and Lyrics. Lahore, 1883. 12 pp. IO Tract 597.\*  
Songs on the condition of India which illustrate the cultural conflict and synthesis prevalent among western-educated Punjabis in the 1880's. Among the titles are "To the Youths of My Country," "Exhortation to India for Union," "My Mother Land," "The Last Words of a Dying Arya" and "The Aryans." Several poems are reproduced in Appendix C.
245. Jaidev Singh. Pandit Dayanand Unveiled. Lahore, 1892. 22 pp. IO Tract 782.\*  
Criticism of Dayanand and the Arya Samaj, with controversial assessments of Arya morality and "real intentions."
246. Kashi Nath. A Short History of Munshi Nathmal's Family. Delhi, 1893. 43 pp. IO Tract 800.\*  
Account of the family history of a government official and his sons; appended letters and parwanas.
247. The Kashmir Conspiracy. Lahore, 1890. 92 pp. IO Tract 901.\*  
Reproduction of articles from the People's Journal in support of the Maharaja. Subjects discussed include the repudiation of the treaty of 1846, political chaos in Kashmir, the present reign of terror, the reason for strong action, communal problems in Kashmir.
248. Khastgir, A. C. Physical Evils of Flesh Eating. Lahore, 1889. 14 pp. IO Tract 698.\*  
Chapters in this anti-meat eating tract include "Flesh Eating Generates Disease," "Occupational Nutrient Requirements," "Pandit Rudra Dutta on Vegetarianism in Relation to Arya Scriptures."
249. Khazan Singh. Justice. Lahore, 1903. 88 pp. IO Tract 935.\*  
Analysis of British justice in India and suggestions to Indians for improving their social and intellectual condition.

250. Lakshman Singh, Bhai. Principles and Teachings of the Arya Samaj, Lecture 7: "Some Aspects of the Samaj." Lahore, 1890. 28 pp. IO Tract 951.\*

Notes by a publicist of Sikh revivalism on the Arya Samaj and its ideas. Contents include clippings, essays, and critical comments such as "Dayanandi Described."

251. Lal Chand, Lala. An Essay on the Decline of Native Industries. Lahore, 1894. 31 pp. IO Tract 790.\*

Discussion of Punjab industry by an Arya Samajist includes statement on condition of indigenous manufactures, imports and exports, technical education, and swadeshi.

252. Lal Sud. Rulers and the Ruled. Lahore, 1904. 10 pp. IO Tract 1010.\*

Lecture delivered to the Lahore Cosmopolitan Society. Subjects discussed include British expansion, the advance of India, official disregard for the feelings of Punjabis, and the necessity for better relations between the Punjabi and English community.

253. Leitner, G. W. Indigenous Elements of Self-Government in India. London, 1884. 90 pp. IO Tract 633.

Detailed discussion of experiments in self-government in the Punjab, with suggestions for legislative councils, elections, and panchayats. Appended are documents on the history of the Panjab University movement.

254. Mazumdar, Jadu Nath. The Substance of Two Lectures. Lahore, 1885. 30 pp. IO Tract 958.\*

Lectures entitled "The Requisites of a True Patriot" and "Social and Spiritual Aspects of Marriage."

255. Mohammdan Tract and Book Depot. Essay on the Question Whether Islam Has Been Beneficial or Injurious to the Human Society in General, and to the Mosaic and Christian Dispensations. Lahore, n.d. BM 4503.c.25.

One of numerous pamphlets on Muslim history, culture, and politics published by the Tract and Book Depot.<sup>65</sup>

256. Mozoomdar, Pratapa Chandra. Words of Advice to Young Punjabis. Lahore, n.d. IO Tract 705.\*

Outline of the principles of the Brahmo Samaj and recommendations on how college students should conduct themselves.

257. Mul Raj, Rai. A Lecture on the Arya Samaj. Lahore, 1894. 30 pp. IO Tract 783.\*

Survey of Arya Samaj programs, education, Vedic interpretation, and preaching missions.

258. Munshi Ram, Lala. The Future of the Arya Samaj. Lahore, 1893. 19 pp. IO Tract 783.\*
- History of the Arya Samaj and a forecast of its future in light of the "religious-scientific upheaval."
259. Nand Gopal, Bhai. A Short Ethnographical History of Aror Bans. Lahore, 1888. 12 pp. IO Tract 756.\*
- Replies to ethnographical questions circulated among Aroras, and the proceedings of a general meeting of the Arora community, Lahore, June 20, 1888.
260. A Native Church for the Natives of India. Lahore, 1877. 119 pp. IO Tract 639.\*
- Report on the formation of a Native Church Council for the Punjab (CMS), with papers, selections from proceedings, and discussions of key issues by Punjabi and English Christians.
261. Necessity of the Time or the Veda Prachar Movement. Lahore, 1895. 20 pp. IO Tract 782.\*
- Information on the Veda Prachar Movement and an outline of how the preaching missions were financed.
262. Papers Connected with the Punjab University Question. Lahore, 1881. 112 pp. BM 8365. ee.27.
- Collection of articles, resolutions, and essays critical of the decision to establish a provincial university along oriental lines. Many of the documents were prepared by the Lahore Indian Association.
263. Peshawara Singh. A Tragic Poem. Lahore, 1896. 18 pp. IO Tract 805.\*
- Poem on Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom.
264. Philanthropy Run Mad. Lahore, 1892. 85 pp. IO Tract 790.\*
- Newspaper articles and speeches opposing official zulm (persecution) of money lenders in Ambala district. The Tribune initially exposed the efforts of a district officer to protect cultivators illegally, and as a result of the ensuing agitation, the Lieutenant Governor had to intervene and transfer the officer.
265. Purity Association. Opinions of the Nautch Question. Lahore, 1894. 40 pp. IO Tract 803.\*
- Literature of the reform movement against nautch parties. Extravagance and spreading corruption among young Punjabis receive particular notice in the essays.
266. Rafee-ud-Din, Mirza. Biblical Proofs of Islam. Delhi, 1895. 59 pp. IO Tract 878.\*
- Attempt to show that the Old Testament foretold Islam and the coming of Muhammad.



267. Raj Kanwar, Lala. Conditions, Needs and Responsibilities of Students. Lahore, n.d. 18 pp. IO Tract 945.\*

Paper read before the Arya Kumar Sabha, Lahore, on poor physical and intellectual conditions of Indian students due to early marriage, failure of the educational system, and extravagance. Remedies include development of "self-culture," good health, study of the Bhagavad Gita.

268. Rallia Ram, Lala. Wazir Luchman and the Kashmir State. Lahore, 1896. 17 pp. IO Tract 768.\*

Account of Kashmir administration and a defense of a Hindu official against Muslim charges.

269. Ram Bhaj Datta. Agnihotri Demolished. Lahore, 1892. 36 pp. IO Tract 782.\*

Arya reply to the pamphlets of the founder of Dev Samaj.

270. Ruchi Ram Sahní. The Niyoga Doctrines of the Arya Samaj. Lahore, 1897. 40 pp. BM 14033.a.33(1).

Criticism of Arya marriage doctrines by a Brahmo Samajist.

271. Ruchi Ram Sahní. Science and Religion. Lahore, 1895. 16 pp. IO Tract 803.\*

Conflict between science and religion discussed by a leading Punjabi scientist and Brahmo Samajist.

272. Rules for the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Society. Lahore, 1888. 17 pp. IO Tract 751.\*

Rules include the following: constitution, procedure, management of boarding houses, leaves, and examinations.

273. Satyanand Agnihotri. Indian Regeneration and the Deva Dharma Mission. Lahore, n.d. 12 pp. IO Tract 945.\*

Discussion of the Indian National Congress and the role of religious organizations in the nationalist movement.

274. Seva Ram. Our Politics: Aims and Methods. Lahore, 1888. 18 pp. IO Tract 955.\*

Lecture to Lahore Indian Association on political development and reform. Attention is paid to the differences between English and Indian applications of democratic representation and "constitutional agitation."

275. Shastri, B. Rama. Intermarriage of Hindus with Europeans and Other Non-Hindu Ladies. Lahore, 1895. 39 pp. IO Tract 801.\*

Discussion of intermarriage, assimilation of cultures and theologies, and hereditary issues.

276. Shivgan Chand, Swami. The Divine Wisdom of Indian Rishis. Lahore, 1894. IO Tract 783.\*
- Yoga and Vedantic philosophy in the Punjab.
277. A Short Account of the Life of Rai Jeewan Lal Bahadur. Delhi, 1888. 91 pp. IO Tract 710.\*
- Sketch of a Hindu aristocrat's life; appended family papers, correspondence, and extracts from a diary.
278. A Short Ethnographical History of Aror Bans. Lahore, 1889. 12 pp. IO Tract 756.\*
- Reinterpretation of the history and social status of Punjab Aroras.
279. Sprenger, A. Reports of the Vernacular Translation Society, 1845. Delhi, 1845. 27 pp. IO Tract 166.\*
- Report of an Anglo-Indian society which sponsored literary debates and translation of western works into Punjab vernaculars. Included in the report are lists of book sales and a discussion of how "literary tastes and habits" in the Delhi area could be improved.
280. Stocqueler, J. H. Review of the Life and Labors of Dr. G. W. Leitner. Brighton, 1895. 31 pp. IO Tract 903.\*
- Survey of Leitner's educational work in the Punjab, including a brief history of the Anjuman-i-Panjab.
281. Sundar Singh, Bhai. Short History of the Hari Mandar. Amritsar, 1902. 15 pp. IO Tract 909.\*
- Account of the Golden Temple, Sikh religion, and rules for visitors to Sikh shrines.
282. The Theists Appeal. Lahore, 1895. 11 pp. IO Tract 815.\*
- Brahmo pleas for cooperation of religious groups and evolution of common worship.
283. The Third Punjab Provincial Conference Held at Umballa City on the 7th and 8th March 1895: The President's Speech by J. C. Bose. Lahore, 1898. 33 pp. BM 8022.bbb.20.
- One of the few known reports of a provincial political conference in the nineteenth century.
284. Todar Mal Bhandari. Thoughts on the Origin of Present Day Khatri and Its Morals. Amritsar, 1908. 143 pp. BM 10007.a.7.
- Interpretation of Khatri history and review of social problems within the caste.

285. Williams, T. Exposure of Dayanand Saraswati and His Followers.  
Delhi, 1889. 21 pp. IO Tract 719.\*

Series of three letters charging that Dayanand and his associates deliberately falsified the Rigveda through grammatical and "interpretational design."

286. Williams, T. A Farce. Rewari, 1892. 8 pp. IO Tract 782.\*

Missionary attempt to undermine Dayanand's interpretations of the Vedas.

## APPENDIX A

### Kangres Kahani

#### "Story of the Congress"<sup>66</sup>

The following short tract is indicative of the attitudes and images underlying relationships between religious communities in the Punjab. Although the tract was written by a Muslim editor, Mohammed Shams-ud-Din Sadiq, similar accusations and provocative language can be found in Hindu tracts of the period.

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### Go and Shake the Foundations of the National Congress

This is a tale for everyone to laugh at  
About how many people are driven only by the desire for money  
About how such people are determined to be seditious  
and are talking only of their greatness.

Refrain: Idols are desiring to be God  
This is the extent of your greatness.

There is much crookedness in the straight path  
Thoughts are rapidly spreading  
Thoughts calling on men to do wrong things  
Even to fight with the government.

There is a lust for starting a war  
A war between the mountain and the mustard seed.  
We will comment on this for the welfare of all  
Moneylenders should listen to the truth.

The bravery of the Congress is tormenting  
The decision is made to confront imperialism  
All this is but a sign of self-destruction  
Listen, moneylenders--we speak for your own good.

What thing is the Congress, what is this evil  
What is reality, what does the Congress really want?  
We must also discover what is the real situation  
Listen, all men, what is really happening.



## Appendix A

The Congress is a name of a committee  
Of which Bengalis have laid the foundation  
They want to make noise and disturbance,  
They claim that they are the men to rule.

With the Bengalis are the Hindus  
And on the face of things, there is no difference  
They hold meetings everywhere  
They both desire their own kingdom.

Gathering up shopkeepers and moneylenders  
And sweet sellers and brokers  
They will all tie the dhoti in the Congress  
They all are saying, we will be King.

This is a new thing we are witnessing  
An occasion never heard or seen before  
They all ask for kingdoms  
Men who sell flour, pulse, oil, and ghee.

Now they say this to the government:  
We are suffering because of your misdeeds  
Wounds in our hearts are bleeding  
You must leave so that we might live.

Governors, pack up your tents and leave  
Breath and live in London  
Lala Babu has now come  
He who does not like English rule.

Congressmen, look at your action  
Think what you were prior to now  
Consider a little your past  
And admit what is your reality.

You have always lived in slavery  
And looked at your fat faces in the mirror  
See your big mouths--how funny.  
You look and still ask for a kingdom.

How strange are the affairs of men  
Whose soles are falling apart from peddling.  
Now where are their feet going?  
God, God--where is their courage?

They are only eaters of potatoes and hash,  
Food just enough for sustenance but not action  
Men who always eat rice, fish, and curry,  
Now they ask for a knife and fork.

It is really a strange thing to see  
Men who wretchedly wander from door to door  
Always begging for more money, more money  
Now they are asking for government accounts.

## Appendix A

They may feel shy seeing death  
They may become afraid of their own wives  
If they see a soldier, they become worried  
Now they say to the people--we want the right to fight.

If they hear a gun fire  
They may break wind on that occasion  
They may even answer the call of nature in their dhotis  
But then they say--take up arms.

Those who can only run from home to the bazaar  
Whose internal reasoning is spoiled  
Who get afraid seeing the stoutness of elephants  
These men think they can fight Russia.

Men who know only how to sit on mattresses  
Or know only the rate of flour and salt  
Men who do not really understand what is currently happening  
They meditate only on how to hurt the English throne.

Whose fathers and grandfathers had never heard  
Of civilization, chairs and stools  
Yet they want to sit equally  
With those men who are now our kings.

Of whom we know the pedigree  
Now they have begun bragging  
They have left behind all respect  
And are now looking for any reason to revolt.

We used to think of them as thorns and weed,  
Men who were happy with shoe-beatings  
Now they say, we can do something  
Now they say, let us sit on councils.

To eat sweets a mouth is needed  
But these men do not have a brain with which to eat  
Read this extemporaneous speech to the poor Hindus  
What fools are they.



## APPENDIX B

### Sada-i-Hind

"The Voice of India"67

Tract by the editor of Inquilab, Lala Nand Gopal, which calls on Indians of all faiths to rally against British exploitation. The essay illustrates the problems confronting a Hindu politician who sought to overcome communal conflict and divisive issues such as cow protection. The arguments in the tract also reflect the mixture of economic theory, science, religion, and patriotic appeal often found in Punjab nationalist literature.

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Dear countrymen. With a sad heart, I am making a painful appeal for your help and consideration. There is nothing new in the appeal, but the same old ideas are being repeated so that they become firmly rooted in your minds. It is also hoped that you will begin thinking of bringing a halt to dangers threatening the country.

If you remain inattentive to these words, you are heading toward destruction no matter whether you are a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian or a Parsi. The attention of all political, social, and religious leaders is being drawn currently toward the crucial situation created by the food shortage. I would urge that they leave the rest of their concerns alone and focus their thought on this very basic problem. Nobody can do anything worthwhile until and unless he has enough to eat. It should be noted at the outset that it is already too late to avoid an immediate calamity. Wise men should think ahead because, as one old saying puts it, a man who is thirsty cannot instantaneously dig a well and quench his thirst. He must first plan ahead.

What is the nature of the calamity? Our average income is going down day by day. According to William Digby, the daily average income of India is less than two paise, and the tragedy of the situation is that the cost of living and food prices are shooting up at the very time income is descending. In the 1900 census, five crore of Indian people were pictured as living on one meal a day. This was the situation when the price of wheat was twenty seers a rupee. But now, when prices are from seven to eight seers a rupee, how many people must be starving to death? In addition to that, our average daily income is going down. One can easily see the tragic situation toward which we are heading.

It is a pitiful matter that the people to whom we have to make our appeal have never experienced hunger such as their fellow countrymen are bearing.



Question: Why is India becoming a victim of this calamity?

Answer: It is a result of sins being committed by the government of India and the people of India.

Question: What is the sin of the government?

Answer: (1) Free trade (2) Laws pertaining to forests and wasteland (3) Cow slaughter.

Free trade is a very complicated question. For the present, our only concern is that whatever we produce as food grain is bought by foreign traders and taken out of the country. As a result of this activity, we starve to death. Our race is becoming extinct. We are constantly falling prey to plague, cholera, and similar diseases. It has been proven that those diseases are caused by hunger, and if this is not the case, then why do white people, who are very rich, never fall victim?

Secondly, foreign traders snatch from us the essential products of life, such as food grains and cotton, and replace them with products of leisure and luxury goods such as glass and stone. We cannot put those luxury goods in our stomachs, and that is why we fall prey to death. Competition between foreign and local traders in the war of trade has perpetuated mass poverty in India.

Jungle laws also are important. Indians are not permitted to pluck small sticks from the trees for fuel to prepare their food or as heat against the cold weather. The result of this law is that our poor people run after the cattle to get their refuse as fuel for their homes. But cattle dung is needed more as a manure than as fuel.

A second dangerous aspect of these laws is that our livestock is not allowed to graze in government forests. This means we have to develop fields just so our animals can graze. We presently do not have enough land to fill the bellies of the people, and in such circumstances, what is going to happen to the poor cows? In other words, it is impossible for a common man to keep a cow in his home for daily needs and milk.

In Bombay the conditions are such that when the cow stops giving milk, she is handed over to the butcher. No one is prepared to wait a year until the cow can give birth to another calf. This practice is due entirely to the increase in the price of fodder. The bovine species is therefore being wiped out, and its end means the end of the Indian people within a very short time.

In our childhood we used to hear that the horns of an ox carried the entire weight of the world, and if not the whole, at least that of Indian soil. Now we can appreciate the real meaning of those words. The end of the cow means the end of oxen, and without them the farmer cannot plough his fields. Cultivation will thus stop, and that means the end of India.

We want to draw the attention of the Indian government to all these problems. Is the government not aware that the price of an ox has risen from ten rupees to a hundred rupees within ten years? After ten more years it will be difficult to buy an ox without going into debt for many generations. No one can challenge the truth of this statement. If somebody comes up with an argument that the increase of Indian capital has

raised the price of oxen, then his thinking bears no resemblance to the present circumstances. The situation indicates that the country is steadily being impoverished, with the average income of an Indian citizen going down considerably. The prices of cattle are nevertheless rising, with the result that livestock is being sent to the slaughter house where their necks are falling victim to butcher's knives.

We want the government to understand fully that if it does not want to end the Indian race, then it should fear God and impose a ban on cow slaughter. When nobody is left on Indian soil, then whom is the government going to rule, and from whom can the government collect revenue? The end of the cow is the end of ourselves, and without the cow, there will be no oxen, and consequently no grain to eat and no human life.

We also want the government to appreciate that its officials have begun collecting revenue even on village meadows which were previously exempt from the tax. I had to visit my own village last year over such an issue, and I found that its revenue had been raised approximately three hundred rupees. The people lodged a strong protest against the increase which was turned down by local officials whose only concern is to collect revenue from oppressed people so that their masters will be happy.

It is necessary for our kind "mother government" to allocate some grazing land for cattle in the villages and towns. No revenue should be imposed on those lands. This step would be a great step for the welfare of people who in return will make it easier for the government to rule. The dearth of cattle is a sign of destruction for a country whose economy is basically agricultural.

The duties, responsibilities, and faults of the government have been pointed out, and now we wish to draw the attention of our countrymen to another aspect of the cow problem. Lack of attention on their part would be suicidal.

Dear countrymen. It has been made clear to you through our representation to the government that we need a large number of oxen for increasing food grain. In order to increase the oxen, it is necessary to protect cows, for otherwise, the lives of the Indian people would be in danger.

There is no need here to mention the usefulness of the cow. Hindus respect this animal to the extent that they call it "mother cow" (gau mata). In fact, if the Hindus have a common mother, it is the cow. Hindus consider eating beef a sin. There are no true Hindus who would take the meat of the cow except those who had been to England and other western countries. Most of them are vakils who feel that religions should not place bans upon food. Actually they are Christians hiding behind the disguise of Hinduism.

Hindus and Muslims are afraid of God. When their mother is on the death bed, they ask her to give forgiveness for their sins, because whatever she has done for them, it cannot be repaid even by one-hundreth. She has given milk and many sacrifices for her children, and there can be no price for the services rendered to them. Friends. You can imagine how indebted we are to our mother for providing us with milk from her breasts for two years. Most of the time this milk of the mother is produced by drinking cow's milk or by eating food produced by the cow. The cow



continually reminds us that she has been giving us milk throughout her life. Sometimes we are fed on cow's milk instead of mother's milk, and this underlines that the human body can be nourished by the cow. Many sweets and ghi are produced from this milk. If it vanishes from the earth, then we would be deprived of ninety-nine percent of this world's pleasures.

Although it is possible to live without milk, one cannot live even for two days without food grains. Food grains are even more valuable and important than dairy products. Remember, however, that food-production is linked with the cow. It is therefore a sin to kill a cow which is the mother of our mother, mother of our children, and mother of ourselves. In other words, we are butchering our present life and our future when we slaughter cows. We are just unaware of all the results of our bad deeds. Oh Muslim friends. If Hindus get milk at the price of four annas per seer, then you cannot get milk at the price of one anna per seer; if Hindus have to buy seven seers of flour for one anna, then you cannot get twenty seers for that price. The amount of milk and ghi needed by Hindus is the same needed by Muslims. If you poison wells, then not only Hindus but yourselves will be the victim. Fighting with Hindus is similar to destroying joint property. Aren't your children starving because of the present high rates of food? Then why do you adopt practices which will prove fatal for the whole Indian nation? You can love the people of Rome, Arabia, and Egypt, but not fellow Indians. You should realize, however, that you will never receive milk for your hungry children from those countries. It can come only from the cows of India which are being slaughtered by you. In other words, your own actions are destroying you. We would not bother to have attracted your attention to this subject had we known that both Hindu and Muslim are in the same boat. If this boat sinks, then both of us will drown. You are tearing the boat apart by means of an axe which you wield. Do you think the value of the cow is less than the boat which you are destroying?

\*The fruit of our favorite tree was once in abundance. Everywhere one could see the orchards, and all of us had enough to eat as if all were inhabitants or owners of this garden. Everyone could take fruit in the quantity he needed. There was no gardener to check anybody from plucking the fruit. Even the poorest people could take the fruit without paying for it. Everyone was once happy, strong, and healthy. There was no fear of death even as there was no scarcity of milk and food. Food prices were very low, and the poorest could dine well. Oh, that garden has been destroyed by our own neglect. Virtually all the trees of the garden have been uprooted. It has now become difficult to buy milk and fruit with money, and we can only dream of the time when it was free of cost. Ghi has become more scarce. If we do not pay some mind to the situation, we will be wiped off the pages of history. As a matter of fact, millions of our poor have become the victim of death for these very reasons. We still remain unconcerned. There is nobody now whose income can withstand the present rising cost of living. Each gradually drifts toward poverty, and there is only one thing left to preserve ourselves, the cow. If we loose the cow, we should expect great calamity not only for Hindus and Muslims but for all humanity. Due to our ignorance and

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\* A short excerpt from Inquilab on food shortage in Lahore has been omitted.

sins, God is certainly going to treat us badly. If things continue, then diseases like cholera and plague will always abound. We are actually falling prey to those diseases, and in order to get rid of them, we are using the dry and bitter quinine. Doctors are making money from us, but we poor people have very little to pay them. The rich still have enough, but the children of the poor are dying with fever and hunger. When those poor, innocent children reach toward their mothers for milk, they find her breasts dry. Mothers are often lying senseless due to hunger and are unable to feed their children. They try hard from natural maternal love, but they find themselves helpless because of extreme weakness. Mothers are upset inside when they cannot feed their children and hear the voices of agony and pain all around. The homes in each neighborhood are experiencing the same things, and therefore little solace and sympathy can be expected from any side. Oh Muslims. We respectfully appeal to you not to take beef for yours as well as our benefit. If you don't act upon this appeal, you are responsible for the consequences.

We would like to make it clear to Muslims that the eating of meat has a negative effect on the economy. The people of America, England, and Scotland consider meat their natural food because of the cold. One day, however, nature compelled them to stop eating the flesh of sheep. There were two reasons. First, slaughtering of sheep had led to a shortage of wool, and as a result they were dying with cold. Secondly, the British became dependent on other countries for wool and stopped growing sheep for any cause. The same is true about our conditions. There is one difference between ourselves and the English because they tried to cure the diseases immediately. We Indians make things worse, instead of finding solutions to our problems. This is the reason that we creep towards death. In the old days thousands of people were employed in different professions connected with goats and sheep. Their products brought much money to the country. All those people who now sit idle were once employed in some kind of labor connected with sheep. They used to earn their living from those animals. Now Indians suffer because we have behaved like a foolish gardener who chops down trees upon which his family depends for existence. In the same way we would deprive ourselves of important animals, the very animals responsible for our food grains and milk.

A second cure for saving India from calamity: We have mentioned above that all sufferings are due to our sins. The first sin is that we eat meat. The second is that we are eating the flesh of our countrymen. How can this be? The following example should explain what I mean.

Suppose one mother began to feed milk to all the babies of the world. She would be unable to save every baby, and in the process her own child would suffer. The mother neglected her primary obligation of nourishing her own child. No sane person in the universe would respect the act of such a mother. In the same way we are feeding the children of the whole universe from our own blood. Sixty million Indians are starving to death because of our selfishness and lack of forethought. We buy foreign cloth instead of our own. If nobody is willing to wear cloth manufactured by Indians because it is rough to the touch, then how can Indians make a living? This attitude of not patronizing local industrial goods brings an increasing hunger to our nation. We feel particularly sorry for our Muslim brothers who are mostly laborers and who should have more hatred toward foreign rulers than Hindus. Why then do they not turn on the British and patronize local manufacturers? At the same



time Hindus should also remember that if they do not use homemade goods, Indians will eventually starve to death. All Hindu shopkeepers would be sitting idle if their customers are jobless due to patronizing foreign-made cloth. Similarly, Muslims should be careful and not fall prey to mistakes and wrong thinking.

Dear countrymen. Let us take a pledge that we are not going to use any foreign-made product. You should stop being the benefactors of England, America, and Australia. If you do not realize that you are committing a sin by killing your own people, then be prepared for the day of judgment is very near. There is still time to repent. Oh God. Show the path of righteousness to our countrymen and give them the ability to think through their problems.

The causes of poverty in the country and our duty: There are three ways of raising income to make the economy of a country sound: agriculture, industry, trade. There are some others which also might be listed, but these will suffice for the present.

In regards to agriculture, it has become evident that the Indian government is sucking the blood from farmers by collecting heavy revenues. According to William Digby, sixty-six percent of agricultural output is taken by the government through fixed land revenue. The consequence is simple-agriculturists almost starve through most of the year. Not only that, but after every twenty years or so, taxes are doubled. A recent example is Bannu where there was an increase of sixty-four percent. If the state of affairs continues like that, then in a few years we cannot live. Everybody knows the cruel methods of collecting revenue, and so we do not think it necessary to go into details on collection.

Industry is the second means of income. The government has been trying to uproot local industry by imposing taxes of one hundred percent or more on all Indian products. Many things have been imported from England which were or could be produced locally. We are now dependent consequently upon foreign countries for even a needle. Our skilled craftsman class, once a strong segment of the population, has now disintegrated because of unemployment. Some craftsmen have even joined the underworld to make their living. Moreover, millions of rupees, which could have provided food and clothing for the Indian people, are annually being transferred to other countries.

These are some of the causes which check the progress of our industrial growth.

A similar process is found in trade. When all handicrafts and industry are in the hands of foreigners, then trade in those products must also be in their hands. As a result, we popularize foreign-made goods and sell them in our shops. This inflicts heavy blows on our country's economy. In that way we feed the foreigners at our expense. The foreign traders use their power with great tact. They buy up millions of tons of food grain here, and the money we receive in payment goes back into the official treasury in the form of revenues. If any is left with us, it is immediately spent on buying the daily needs of life which are generally nothing but foreign-made goods. The truth is that we are like a landlord who has a large number of cows in his home. Those cows

give much milk, but he is deprived of even skimmed milk because he collects it through a strainer. Our government acts like a strainer by imposing taxes on our land and industrial products. The same is true of the foreign trading companies who are not satisfied with selling their products to us but take away millions of tons of our food each year. The result is constant famine and food shortage. In summary, the domination of trade by foreigners is a third cause of our poverty.

All kinds of trade are presently in the hands of these outsiders. Once the cow trade was limited only to India, but now cows are being exported to other countries. There is a danger, God forbid, that this animal may someday no longer exist on the soil of India. If this occurs, it would end our civilization. God save us from this new calamity.

In addition to all causes of poverty, western civilization has also added to our problems. Because of western domination all money collected from the earnings of millions goes into the pocket of one man, the foreign traders. Western civilization is the enemy of our God-given animals such as the horse, ox, donkey, and elephant, which are useful for various human needs. Western civilization has limited the use of those animals by introducing machines. All the money we spend unfortunately goes into the hands of the foreigners. For example, when the railway was built in this country, it seriously affected those people who relied upon horse transportation for their livelihood. Waterworks made many water-carriers jobless. The same is true of the textile and oil industries. We were better without those inventions. Now there is a rumor that the trainway will be introduced in Lahore. This means that all those persons dependent upon horsecarts will go idle, and all their money will go into the pockets of foreign traders. A few years ago the Lahore Municipal Corporation imported pickups to collect refuse from parts of the city. One knows that the project did not work well, but one can imagine how many sweepers have been made jobless. The prayers of jobless sweepers perhaps caused the system to become inoperative, for once again they are back at their old positions.

For the last two years electric fans have been installed in official buildings, with the result that many porters who previously operated the manual fans were thrown out. Those people would have earned livings for thousands of families. Now where will they get a livelihood? Juxtapose that to the foreign fan company which is making millions of rupees. This is the impact of western civilization on the Indian economy and social system.

In short, the influx of machines and mechanization is bringing more poverty and destruction. Indian capital is going out of the country, and unemployment is increasing. India is thus becoming poorer and poorer. America and Europe are twenty to thirty times richer than India. The growth of their countries has led to conflict between the rich and the poor. The future conditions in India can be imagined--conflict, struggle, and extinction.



## APPENDIX C

### Selections from Indian National Songs and Lyrics<sup>68</sup>

These selections exemplify the themes, ideas, and metaphors prevalent in Hindu patriotic literature prior to the twentieth-century.

The favorable judgments on British rule, calls for national regeneration through social reform, and references to the "golden age" of "Aryavarta" are of particular interest.

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#### An Address to Lord Ripon

Friend of India, friend of people,  
Great of soul and strong of mind  
Choicest blessings may God shower  
O'er thee, our ruler kind.

Friend of freedom, friend of knowledge,  
Governor of Indian heart,  
Justice thine and truth and courage  
Echo back from every part.

Sons of India, never, never  
Will forget thy holy name,  
But from east to farther west  
Thy good deeds shall e'er proclaim.

For the boon of Local Government,  
For Punjab Academy,  
For the Jurisdiction Bill,  
Many, many thanks to thee.

Seeds which thou hast sown to-day  
Are not thrown on barren soil,  
Future age their fruits will gather,  
Gathering bless thy sacred toil.

Land of India cannot raise thee  
Monument so lasting, strong.  
As the hearts of her brave children  
Throbbing e'er a grateful song.



Long live noble India's Empress,  
Long our Viceroy mayst thou be,  
Long the British rule in India  
Last in peace, prosperity.

Exhortation to India for Union

Rise up, O Aryas, O Moslems arise;  
Ye Christians, ye Buddhists, and Parsees arise;  
Rise up Bengalees, Punjabees arise,  
Mahrattas, Madrasees, Gujratoes arise;  
Shake off all torpor's chain,  
Break it with might and main,  
Join ye like brothers in union's strong ties.

2

Ah long have ye slept, sons of India, too long.  
And daily wax weaker, while others grow strong,  
Your glory all faded and perished your power,  
And lower you sink still and lower each hour;  
But still there is hope, if ye brothers unite.

3

Forget all your feuds and your quarrels forgive,  
In love and in union let Indians all live;  
Advance ye in knowledge, in wisdom progress,  
May science and art all your labour still bless!  
Once more, so your banner shall wave in the skies.

(Siris Chandra Basu, B. A.)

My Mother Land

My Mother land, my mother land!  
Thou fairest of Almighty's hand.  
Where spring perpetual loves to stay  
And fragrant breezes constant play,  
Where nature in her gracious mood  
Unlaboured gives thy sons their food,  
O Where on earth shall e'er we find  
A mother like thee good and kind.

2

Thy starry nights so clear, serene,  
Thy forests wild--an awful scene,  
Thy mountains dressed in virgin snow  
Whence hundred rivers fitful flow,

Moving in melodious strain  
And warble on from hill to plain,  
Till joining with the ocean wide  
Thy lands in fertile fields divide.

3

Thus all is fair and charming good  
Except thy sons--a worthless brood,  
All foolish, selfish, craven grown  
A race of slaves for slavery born.  
No greatness in their souls I spy,  
No traces of their lineage high.  
To every stranger bowing head  
They barter honor for their bread.

4

Are they thy sons and dare they trace  
Their ancestry to that brave race,  
The race of fiery Sun and Moon,  
Whose glory like the God of noon  
Refulgent shone through all the world;  
Who victory's banner wide unfurled  
From Himalaya to the sea?  
Are they the sons of Aryas free?

(Siris Chandra Basu.)

The Aryas

We are the sons of brave Aryas of yore,  
Those sages in learning, those heroes in war;  
They were the lights of great nations before,  
And shone in that darkness like morning's bright star  
A beacon of warning, a herald from far.

2

Have we forgotten our Rama and Arjun,  
Yudhishtar, or Bhishma or Drona the wise?  
Are not we sons of the mighty Duryodhan?  
Where did great Nanak and Buddha arise?  
In India, in India the echo replies.

3

Ours the glory of giving the world  
Its science, religion, its poetry and art,  
We were the first of the men who unfurled  
The banner of freedom on earth's every part.  
Brought tidings of peace and of love to each heart.

4

This is the land of Vyasa, Valmiki  
The poets unequalled, inspired of God;  
This is the country where Sita, Savitri,  
In glory immortal their footsteps have trod;  
And followed with love, hope and patience their lord.

5

Sons of those mighty undying ancestors,  
Shall ye forever degraded remain?  
Rise up united and be the precursors  
Of days yet more glorious in honour and fame,  
And break superstition and priesthood's cold chain.

### The Want of Indian Progress

When I ponder on my country,  
On her sorrows and her woes;  
When I read the mournful history  
Of her ancient treacherous foes;  
Sudden painful thoughts oppress me  
And with horror I exclaim--  
Lord! shall ever India prosper;  
Shall it ever win a name?

### Chorus in Forecast of British Government

India shall prosper, India shall prosper,  
Days of her sorrows are past;  
Yes, she'll prosper, yes she'll prosper;  
Honor shall crown her at last.

2

Nations of the earth are moving  
Fast in science, knowledge, art;  
Every country is improving  
Rapidly in every part;  
Hapless India only moves not  
Rooted to its ancient place  
Shall she never run as others  
In the glorious march of age?

India shall prosper, India shall prosper, &c., &c.,

3

Time there was when she was honored  
And her sons were wise and brave;  
Now degraded, fallen, lowly,  
India is a land of slave.

All her noble, heroes vanished  
And her great men dead and gone;  
Even hope no longer comforts  
Our destiny forlorn.

India shall prosper, India shall prosper, &c., &c.,

The Last Words of a Dying Arya

India, O India, farewell to thy shore,  
O, land of the Aryas, I'll see thee no more,  
My soul is all bleeding, my heart is now broken,  
And long have I wept for thy sorrows unspoken;  
But who will not weep when he hears the sad story  
How India hath fallen from honor and glory.

Thou cradle of science, man's primitive home  
From thee all the wisdom of Egypt and Rome  
Pythagorus and Plato from thee got their lore,  
As the proud race of Persia had done it before.  
But sad and heart rending remains still the story,  
How India hath fallen from honor and glory.

Lo! clear flows the Ganges as flowed it of yore,  
Its bosom still bearing rich harvest bright store,  
And great Himalaya still pierces the sky,  
As proudly as ever in ages gone by,  
When Rama ruled India and Valmiki hoary,  
Sang sweetly the song of her wisdom and glory.

Ah! there are those sacred springs, mountains and fields,  
King nature in plenty her foison still yields,  
Still cuckoo sings sweetly her melancholy lay  
Gay songsters still chirp in thy groves livelong day  
Still gales of Malaya with perfumes adore ye  
But where is O Bharat thy freedom and glory.

Arise then my soul and take flight from this land  
To regions celestial, where spirits command  
And pray there the Pitris and Rishis to bless  
That India may wake from her bed of distress  
And shaking off torpor of ages once more she  
Regain her past honor and wisdom and glory.

The Condition of India Before  
the British Advent

Weak as I am, and so poor of strength,  
My country thy sorrows will make me a brave,  
I fear not the torture of tyrant or dread  
The horrors of prison, or shadows of grave.



Welcome are chains and thrice welcome is death,  
An Arya, my mother, can never be slave  
For the life of a bondsman is worse than a breath,  
Or a bubble that plays at the whim of the wave.

More happy than gods shall I reckon my fate  
Thy honor my mother, if I can but save,  
From the hands of these thieves who despoil thee of wealth  
And mar the sweet beauty which nature thee gave.

Oh can I but hope that my blood can atone  
E'en a wee little spot from thy scutcheon so bright  
How glad every drop from my vein will I spill,  
To wash thy black shame with my crimson to white.

Let tears be my drink, bitter gall be my bread  
When I see of starvation thy meek children die,  
And ruthless proud strangers all fatten themselves  
While hunger begs bootless with piteous dull cry.

Sustain me good God through such hours of trial,  
For the sight will also madden most heartless of men  
And tell me, O, whether in ages to come  
This clime shall be happy and honored again.

The days of dark troubles do never last long  
And storms are aye followed with peace, calm and rest  
For justice though slow, shall avenge every wrong  
And succour shall come from the Isle of the west.

The Indian War Song, Sung at the Time of the  
Invasion of India by the Arabs

Sleep no more, awake, arise;  
Behold the world unclothe your eyes,  
And see how gloriously it flies,  
With various human races on,  
With happy hearts and deep design;  
Rushing on with faith divine,  
While their banners brightly shine  
Over lands in conquest won.  
Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Turkey,  
China, Thibet, land of Tartary,  
Burmah, Japan, yea each country,  
All are great and glorious free;  
Only India still sleeps on.  
Blow O trumpet, peal aloud,  
Deep as rolling thunder cloud,  
All are free, awake and proud,  
Only India still sleeps on.  
Standing on Himalaya's breast;  
A youth in yellow garment drest.  
With nation's sorrow sore distress  
Sang aloud this fiery song.

His bright blue eyes like lightening shone,  
A warning angle all alone;  
There he stood apart forlorn;  
Singing loud again this song,  
Home of hundred millions men;  
Aryavarta is slavery's den,  
Wilt thou be free my land! again.

Shaking off disgraceful chain?  
Are these the sons of that proud race  
Who left their victory's lasting trace,  
On Ganges' banks and Vindya's face.

And bridged the ever-troublous main.  
Aryas, shame! your manhood gone;  
Where is your self respect? all flown,  
Behold the golden Bharat mourn.

Crushed by tyrants' iron rod.  
Look, look how joyously they run;  
The weak, degenerate Bharat's sons  
To lick the feet that kicked them once.

To kiss the dust their conquerors trod,  
When first to Aryavarta from far;  
Our God-like fathers came to war.  
Chasing darkness far away;  
Burst on India like the day  
Conquered Punjab, Himalaya

How many millions were then they?  
And when advanced to Ganges' breast  
With victory sitting on their crest.  
On Jumna and Nurbadda's bank,  
And conquered Dravid's forests' rank.  
And when with dark-skinned enemy,  
They fought in southern Kavery.

How many millions were then they?  
Ten thousand times in number strong,  
Ye are now, with ease ere long,  
Your country from base Arab's yoke,  
Ye can free with one proud stroke,  
From Comorin to Sumeru,  
Only sons if all of you,

Swear to bleed for Bharat's sake.  
Behold above your head there shine  
The self same sun and orbs divine.  
In self same dance they rise decline,

As was their wont when Ind was free.  
Same Aryavarta stretches wide  
Same Vindhya her breadth divide  
Same Ganges' waters ebb and tide

In selfsame way when Ind was free.  
But where's that bright heroic pride  
Thy wisdom, strength in battle-tried  
Which shook the land and oceans' side

From Comorin to mountains' brow.  
Yea all is same:--but courage gone,  
Thy knowledge deep and skill which shone  
On waves of progress, long have flown

My nation's glory where art thou?  
Great India, land of dead, forlorn,

Why vain for thee I weep and mourn?  
Thy sons are slaves for slavery born  
And thou no more art living now.  
Hadst thou the spark of life in thee  
The earth had shook 'neath steps of free  
And thy dark night bright day would be  
But gone's thy glory, strength, and prow.

(Translated from Bengalee.)

### Ode to India

India, thou best of the climes of the world,  
Where victory attended thy banners unfurled.  
Oh country of sages, Oh land of the brave,  
Thou cradle of poets and the heroes' proud grave.  
The blest of all countries on surface of earth,  
Where science, religion and poetry had birth.  
Kind heaven and nature protect thee my land,  
The warriors from nations may honor command.  
Thy pages of history are full of brave deeds,  
How Rajputs had fought on their fiery steeds,  
How Khalsas and Sikhs did work wonder in war,  
Exacted their tributes from nations of far.  
How Maharattas had conquered the proudest Chagtai,  
And raised thee my country once more to the sky;  
But gone are those men whose brave deeds I recount,  
And stopped in thy glory and honor's sweet fount;  
And thou are a land now of cowards and slaves  
Thy wise men are fools and thy heroes turned knaves;  
Thy men were once upright, brave, generous and kind  
There equals on earth we shall scarcely find.  
Unconquered in war in great battle and strife,  
They fought to the sword and they fought to the knife;  
But never from field of proud battle they fled,  
But mixed their own blood with the dying and dead.  
No ditch and no rampart was needed for thee,  
For thou wast the land of the brave and the free;  
Thy best and thy surest protection was then,  
The arms of thy youth and the brains of thy men;  
That freedom, that courage, that truth is no more,  
Which crowned once with glory our sires of yore,  
Proud freedom has fled from thy mountains and plains,  
And shield of thy honor is darkened with stains.  
Thy temples once sacred to nymphs and to gods  
Have fallen alas by the conqueror's swords.  
The robber of Ghazni, the lame of Tatar  
Have deluged thee, my country, with bloodshed and war;  
And hushed is the voice of sweet birds on the tree  
That poured forth their heart when thy children were free.  
By chance if they raise now once more their old tone,  
"Tis a dirge for the glory that long since had flown.  
But why should I grieve, and wherefore should I mourn,  
For the things that are not, and the men that are gone.

But still there is hope oh my country for thee  
And in the dark future already I see.  
For the innocence of youth gives me visions of far,  
And I see in the future thy fortunes' bright star.  
I see a great nation from an Isle of the west;  
Is bringing thee freedom and comfort and rest.  
I see their brave ships even now ploughing the main,  
And soon shall they reach thy devastated plain.  
So grieve not, thy wounds and thy pains shall be healed,  
And peace and rejoicing shall reign in thy fields.  
And once more shall thy science and Vedas of yore,  
Full resuscitated resound in thy shore.

To India--My Native Land

My country! in thy days of glory past  
A beauteous halo circled round thy brow,  
And worshipped as a deity thou wast-----  
Where is that glory, where that reverence now  
Thy eagle pinion is chained down at last.  
And groveling in the lowly dust are thou:  
Thy minstrel hath no wreath to weave for thee  
Save the sad story of thy misery;-----  
Well let me dive into the depths of time,  
And bring from out the ages that have rolled  
A few small fragments of those wrecks sublime,  
Which human eye may never more behold;  
And let the guerdon of my labor be  
My fallen country one kind wish for thee.

(By an East Indian.)





## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Interview with Mr. J. H. Eisenegger, Officer-in-Charge, Student's Room, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, August 11, 1967; India Office to British Museum, September 13, 1877, India Correspondence, 1878-1896 (British Museum Archives); interview with Miss E. M. Dimes, India Office Library, August 7, 1967.

<sup>2</sup>A Collection of Statutes Relating to India up to the End of 1887 (2 vols.; Calcutta, 1913), pp. 214-227; note by C. Bendall, October 1887, India Correspondence, 1878-1896 (British Museum Archives).

<sup>3</sup>Memorandum on the Indian press by William Wedderburn, GI (Govt. of India) Public, Feb. 1867, 83-84A. GI proceedings, unless cited otherwise are from the collection in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

<sup>4</sup>The Legislative Acts of the Governor General of India in Council for 1867 (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 135-140. Also, A. J. Arberry, The Library of the India Office (London, 1938), pp. 67-68.

<sup>5</sup>Correspondence in GI Public, Jan. 1868, 42-49A; Arberry, Library, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup>GI to PG (Punjab Govt.), 596, April 13, 1867, GI Public, May 1867, 1-3A.

<sup>7</sup>Correspondence between British Museum and India Office, 1877-1878, in India Correspondence, 1878-1896 (British Museum Archives); Records and Library, 285 (1884); Books and Publications, March 1884, 1-3A (India Office Records).

<sup>8</sup>Correspondence in the following India Office Records: Books and Publications, Oct. 1885, 1-2A; Records and Library, 1538 (1887); Books and Publications, Aug. 1888, 1-14A.

<sup>9</sup>A Collection of the Acts Passed by the Governor General of India in Council in the Year 1890 (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 153-156. For background on the legislation and problems of acquisition, correspondence in Books and Publications, June 1889, 1A (India Office Records).

<sup>10</sup>Documents on Punjab tracts in Punjab Correspondence, 1890-1904 (British Museum Archives).

<sup>11</sup>GI to Local Govts. and Agents, 137-I, Jan. 13, 1890, Books and Publications, Feb. 1890, 29-30A.

<sup>12</sup>A. H. Diack to Librarian, British Museum, July 3, 1902, Punjab Correspondence, 1890-1904 (British Museum Archives).

<sup>13</sup>GI Home-Political to Sec. of State, 1773, Oct. 8, 1914, Register and Records, 3336 (1914); note by F. W. Thomas, Nov. 27, 1914, same file (India Office Records).

<sup>14</sup>F. W. Thomas note, Nov. 27, 1914.

<sup>15</sup>Note by M. Seton, Nov. 13, 1914 and Despatch 1, Records, Jan. 22, 1915, Register and Records, 3336 (1914).

<sup>16</sup>Noting in Register and Records, 3336 (1914) and Keep-With.

<sup>17</sup>The author made a rapid count of the Punjab books in the indices. The estimates for the British Museum were determined in the same fashion.

<sup>18</sup>Interviews, Aug., 1967, with Miss E. M. Dimes and Miss J. R. Watson (India Office Library).

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>These quarterly lists are the basic source for a thorough catalogue of Punjab resources in the India Office Library. The British Museum apparently did not keep marked duplicates, and even its collection of printed lists is incomplete.

<sup>21</sup>Interview with J. H. Eisenegger, August 11, 1967, British Museum.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Interviews with Miss E. M. Dimes and Miss J. R. Watson (India Office Library).

<sup>24</sup>Information kindly supplied by Mr. J. H. Eisenegger and Mr. G. E. Marrison (British Museum). See also note 30.

<sup>25</sup>The following contain data on these problems: Prakash Tandon, Punjabi Century, 1857-1947 (London, 1961); Bhagat Lakshman Singh, Autobiography, edited by Ganda Singh (Calcutta, 1965); Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings, edited by V. C. Joshi (Delhi, 1965); Ruchi Ram Sahni, "Self-Revelation of an Octogenarian," unpublished autobiography in the possession of V. C. Joshi, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi; Kenneth W. Jones, "The Arya Samaj in the Punjab: A Study of Social Reform and Religious Revivalism, 1877-1902," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1966.

<sup>26</sup>For examples, see numbers 246, 259, and 277. One of the most valuable studies, which the present author hopes to edit and republish, is the Memoir of the Official Career of S. P. Bhattacharjee (Lahore, 1894). 224 pp.

<sup>27</sup>Guides to towns also contain valuable material on history and social organization. Particularly rich is G. S. Manuel's guide to Delhi Rah Numa-i-Dilhi. (Delhi, 1874.)

<sup>28</sup>This generalization based upon a comparison of quarterly publication lists with the holdings of both institutions. The Blumhardt catalogues are either broken into sections with biographical material separate or

contain detailed subject indices. For example, an easy reference to the Urdu biographies and histories is in Blumhardt's catalogue to India Office Hindustani books, pp. 64-77.

<sup>29</sup>An India Office librarian apparently became interested in Muhammed Abdal Mansur, and the Library therefore contains about fifteen of his publications. This illustrates how personal taste and interests fashioned the character of the London depositories.

<sup>30</sup>The India Office Library proceedings and the British Museum archives indicate that there are biographies and autobiographies in the proscribed collections which pertain to nineteenth-century Punjab. For example, biographies of Bhagat Singh, Lajpat Rai, Har Dyal, and other Punjabis were shipped to England. A sketchy guide to British Museum holdings was newly made available in summer, 1968, consisting of a title listing, with note of language, reproduced photographically from the labels of the packets in which the pamphlets are stored: British Museum. Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts. Hand-list of Proscribed Indian Publications. BM 15010.f.8.

<sup>31</sup>Lajpat Rai also wrote two biographies of Guru Datta: Life and Works of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A. (Lahore, 1891) and Guru Datta Vidyarthi ka Jivancharitra (Ferozepur, 1892).

<sup>32</sup>The vernacular and English literature on Punjab reform activities is extensive. Introductions to the period are in autobiographies of Lajpat Rai and Ruchi Ram Sahni. An analytic framework for understanding the ethos and some of the institutions is found in Jones's study of the Arya Samaj. See note 25 for full references.

<sup>33</sup>For an example of a Vedantist tract which went to several editions, see Devi Sahai. Gita-Sar (Sialkot, 1874).

<sup>34</sup>Numbers 36 and 151 are representative of the devotional materials. An example of the Arya literature affecting political outlook and Hindu patriotism is Indian National Songs and Lyrics (see Appendix C).

<sup>35</sup>Also on the incident, see numbers 26 and 85.

<sup>36</sup>The relationship between the Arya Samaj and the Sikh community has not been studied in detail, but it seems likely that at least some groups within the Samaj were active participants in internal Sikh politics such as the management of the Golden Temple and the location of the Khalsa College. Salag Ram Das's Nanakiya Matanir Naya (no. 178) suggests that by 1875 Hindus were already trying to win Sikhs over to Hinduism. The Arya Samaj probably just continued the campaign.

<sup>37</sup>For other tracts, see under Lekh Ram in the vernacular section.

<sup>38</sup>Also item 49.

<sup>39</sup>The section in Blumhardt's India Office Hindustani catalogue, pp. 220-226, contains other similar selections.

<sup>40</sup>For examples, see under Ghulam Ahmad in the English and vernacular sections.



<sup>41</sup>Although the caste association tracts in the India Office Library and the British Museum tend to be on the United Provinces rather than the Punjab, the quarterly printed list of Punjab publications suggests strongly that such movements were as prominent in the Punjab as in neighboring provinces. English-language sources for studying this phenomenon include the Kayastha Samachar, Journal of the Indian Association (both in the India Office Library) and the annual reports of the Indian Social Conference (incomplete sets in the British Museum and India Office Library).

<sup>42</sup>A survey of some of the disputes and differences is in Muhammad Siddiq's Gulshan-i-Haqiqat (Delhi, 1879).

<sup>43</sup>For example, the sections on Muslim theology and factions in Blumhardt's Hindustani catalogue (India Office Library), pp. 227-259.

<sup>44</sup>The most accessible collection of English-language sources on these encounters is found in the archives of the Church Missionary Society, London (either the letter books or the printed reports in the CMS Intelligencer).

<sup>45</sup>Two examples are numbers 125 and 140. Although the India Office Library and British Museum did not order many of the pre-1900 tracts on Pan-Islam and the Middle East, the number of publications on those topics was increasing in the Punjab.

<sup>46</sup>For background on the societies, Muhammad Shah Din, "Mohamedan Societies in the Punjab," The Indian Magazine, 1888, pp. 186-192.

<sup>47</sup>Ernest Trumpp, The Adi Granth or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs (London, 1877. 715 pp. BM 14162.c.8), p. vii. Also Bhagat Singh, Autobiography, pp. 122, 158.

<sup>48</sup>Bhagat Singh (see note 25) discusses these events in his autobiography. For the British relationship with the Sikh community and efforts to maintain a martial spirit, see D. Petrie, Recent Developments in Sikh Politics (Simla, 1911), pp. 22-24.

<sup>49</sup>Statistics and generalization on content based upon a survey of Punjab publications, 1868-1908. Titles and background information were taken from the quarterly lists of publications in the Punjab (India Office Library).

<sup>50</sup>For example, in the July-September quarter of 1896, the Society published 5 books, mostly biographies of Gurus, but by January-March quarter of 1898 (pp. 10-17), the Society published 20 books. (In that quarter, volumes were on the Gurus, the Battle of Chamkaur, the need for honesty, sacrifice for religion, bylaws of the Lahore Singh Sabha, morality, and the evils of being converted by Hindus.)

<sup>51</sup>Based on a survey of publications in English from the Punjab, 1868-1908. The nationalist tracts include items 215, 232, 251, and 256. By the early twentieth century a new literature had appeared as exemplified by Lala Nand Gopal's Sada-i-Hind (translation in Appendix B).

<sup>52</sup>Background and translation of two of the tracts in N. G. Barrier, "Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1870-1890," Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan, forthcoming. Also see the tract, Kangres Kahani, reproduced in Appendix A.

<sup>53</sup>Also in English are items 214 and 247.

<sup>54</sup>For additional hymns see items 20 and 180.

<sup>55</sup>For a similar tract, see Ghulam Ahmad, Shahnah-i-Nakk (Amritsar, 1894). Urdu. 88 pp. BM 14104.e.59(1).

<sup>56</sup>Translated in the reference in note 52.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>The tour and the Punjab response are discussed in Syed Hameed Ahmed, "Sayyad Ahmad Khan's Visit to the Punjab," Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society 15: 49-69 (April 1963).

<sup>59</sup>Background in Bhagat Lakshman Singh, Autobiography, pp. 130-174.

<sup>60</sup>For biographical information see item 150.

<sup>61</sup>Also, revised edition: Takzib-i-Barahin-i-Ahmadiya Jild-i-Awwal (Amritsar, 1890). Urdu. 364 pp. BM 14104.f.52.

<sup>62</sup>Translation in the reference in note 52.

<sup>63</sup>Also Ghose's Wealth of Nations (Lahore, 1889; 15 pp. IO Tract 732), an examination of Adam Smith's ideas on politics and economics.

<sup>64</sup>Other works by Guru Datta include Terminology of the Vedas and European Scholars (Lahore, 1893; 42 pp. IO Tract 783); The Mandukyaopanishat, Being the Exposition of Om (Lahore, 1893; 34 pp. IO Tract 783). See also item 210.

<sup>65</sup>Other Muslim tracts in the same volume include the following:  
G. W. Leitner. Muhammadanism. Lahore, 1893. 40 pp.; Muhammad Shah Din. Islam in Africa. Lahore, 1893. 27 pp.; U. R. Hamid Snow. Merits of Islam as the Primitive Faith. Lahore, 1893. 28 pp. U. R. Hamid Snow. The Prayer Book for Muslims. Lahore, 1893. 40 pp.; Muhammad Alexander Russell Webb. Lectures on Islam. Lahore, 1893. 50 pp.; Muhammad Abu Said Mohammad Husain. Treatise on Jihad. Lahore, 1893. 38 pp.; Syed Amir Ali. Woman in Islam. Lahore, 1893. 38 pp.; Muhammad Mahmood Khan. Arabs and Their Intellectual Progress. Lahore, 1893. 54 pp.; Manners and Customs and Various Religions of the Pre-Islamic Arabs. Lahore, 1891. 28 pp.; Proof of Prophet Mohammad. Lahore, 1891. 58 pp.; Muhammad Abdul Ghani. Polygamy. Lahore, 1891. 19 pp.; W. Quilliam. The Faith of Islam. Lahore, 1891. 33 pp. A related set of pamphlets is found in IO Tract 429: John Davenport. An Apology for Mohammad and the Koran. Lahore, 1891. 16 pp.; Khwaja Zia-Ud-Din. Muhammadan India, Its To-Day and To-Morrow. Lahore, 1897. 18 pp.; K. F. Mirza. The Alchemy of Happiness or the Key to Eternal Bliss: An Exposition of the Islamic Theosophy. Lahore, 1894. 96 pp.; Mohammad Abdul Ghani. Our Young Generation. Lahore, 1891. 13 pp. Mohammad Inayat Ahmad. The Authenticated Miracles of Mohammad. Lahore, 1894. 80 pp. Also, IO Tract 795: Female Education. Lahore, 1891. 13 pp.

<sup>66</sup>Gurdaspur, 1889. Urdu. pp. 8. BM 14119.a.19(2). The poem was read at an anti-Congress meeting and then published by Syed Husain Shah at the Shams-ul-Hind press. I am indebted to Syed Shams-ud-Husain, Hyderabad, and Waheed Abdul Sajid, Lahore, for their help in translation.

<sup>67</sup>Lahore, 1909. Urdu. 22 pp. IO Urdu Tract C 2069. I am indebted to Syed Shams-ud-Husain, Hyderabad, and Waheed Abdul Sajid, Lahore, for their research assistance and aid in translation.

<sup>68</sup>Lahore, 1883. 20 pp. IO Tract 597. Most of the poems were reprinted from the Arya Magazine. Publisher of the collection was N. R. Nund, manager of the National Book Society.





## PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASIAN STUDIES CENTER

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- "Rural Development in East Pakistan: Speeches by Akhter Hameed Khan" (three speeches made in the United States in the summer of 1964), Spring 1965; No. 2 (Out of print.)
- "Technical Assistance in the In-Service Training of Pakistani Civil Servants since 1958", by Richard O. Nishoff, Spring 1966; No. 3. (Out of print.)
- "Research Sources for South Asian Studies in Economic Development: a Select Bibliography of Serial Publications", by Eugene de Benko and V. N. Krishnan, Spring 1966; No. 4. (Out of print.)
- "Changing Patterns of Administration in Rural East Pakistan", by Elliot Tepper, Fall 1966; No. 5. (Out of print.)
- "Bengal: Literature and History", Edward C. Dimock, Editor, Fall 1967. \$1.00
- "Development and Change in Traditional Agriculture: Focus on South Asia", by Cochran, Cummings, Elder, Mason, Nair and Schultz, Fall 1968.
- "Community and Agricultural Development in Pakistan: Speeches of Akhter Hameed Khan" (three speeches made at Michigan State University in the fall of 1966), Winter 1969. \$1.00
- "Bengal Regional Identity", David Kopf, Editor, Spring 1969. \$2.50
- "Modern Chinese Authors: a List of Pseudonyms", compiled by Austin C. W. Shu, Spring 1969. \$2.00
- X "The Punjab in Nineteenth Century Tracts: an Introduction to the Pamphlet Collections in the British Museum and India Office", by N. Gerald Barrier, published in cooperation with the Research Committee on the Punjab, Summer, 1969. \$2.50

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- No. 2, 1964-1965 - "Seven Articles on Land Reform", by Barlowe, Donoghue, Gallin, Hendry, Ishino, Ladepinsky and Raper, Spring 1965. (Out of print.)
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